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The Nation.

March 7, 1981 $1

EDITORIAL

A SOVIET 'RED PAPER'

(Note: We have intercepted the following "Red Paper" by Jeaneavolovitch Kirpatrovsky, a leading Soviet strategic theoretician, whose commentaries are identified with the "hard-line" anti-American faction in the Kremlin. The Red Paper was prepared for a secret session of the 26th Party Congress in Moscow.)

Comrades, we are reaping the bitter harvest of President Brezhnev's détente policies. These effects are cumulative and have been building over a long period. On our Asian flank, our former allies, the Chinese, have long since fallen under capitalist hegemony. In the Middle East, the flames of Islamic obscurantism have spread from Iran, where they engulfed the Shah (a monarchist reactionary, but one could do business with him), to Afghanistan, where Moslem liberationist fronts fomented popular discontent, necessitating increased military aid.

In Africa, our Cuban allies are pinned down in Angola by South African troops, who sweep through that country and Namibia with impunity. I scarcely need remind you of the situation in Eastern Europe, where a weak response to subversive workers' demonstrations has encouraged continuous turmoil in Poland. In Central America right-wing military dictatorships ravage unchecked—notably in El Salvador, where U.S. military aid has tipped the balance against progressive forces. The next domino to topple will surely be Nicaragua. And only today, we learn of an attempted militarist coup in Spain.

Clearly, Comrades, our nation faces a secret, concerted, worldwide campaign, masterminded and supplied by the United States, and dedicated to unseating all governments opposed to capitalist hegemony. The evidence for this assertion is incontrovertible. *(Here the fragment ends with a scrawled notation: "Evidence to come from General Haigorovich.")*

INDUSTRIAL RENEWAL
Robert B. Reich

T.M.I. FALLOUT DEATHS
Ernest J. Sternglass

CALIFORNIA WATER WARS
Hal Rubin

THE POLITICS OF THE ARMS RACE
Andrew Kopkind

D. H. LAWRENCE
Monroe Engel

FADEOUT: CRONKITE
Kurt Vonnegut

THROW SLOGANS AT PROBLEMS

REAGAN'S COWBOY CAPITALISM

MARK GREEN

With firmness and style, President Reagan has commandeered the rhetorical high ground by his "program for economic recovery." The phrases and concepts of Reaganomics—get government off our backs, tax cuts boost revenues and productivity, Federal spending and overregulation are destroying our economy—are about as catchy as anything since Franklin D. Roosevelt took off after the "economic royalists."

But will his program work? And where is the evidence? These questions are crucial, for the President is apparently placing all the hopes of his Administration in this single economic package. A dicey move, as Alexander Haig would say. So far all we have is repetition and assertion. The more one vainly looks for statistical and analytic support, the more Jack Kemp and Ronald Reagan seem to be economic Lysenkos, rather than our new Keynes and F.D.R.—the purveyors of a specious philosophy masking the real interests of corporatist ideology.

Let us take a closer look at the ten myths of the new Cowboy Capitalism:

§ *Government Spending Is Too High.* Federal, state and local governments spend 34 percent of our gross national product. Only in Australia and Japan among industrial nations is there less spending as a percentage of G.N.P. In France it is 40 percent; West Germany 42 percent; Britain 44 percent; the Netherlands 51 percent.

§ *Federal Deficits Cause Inflation.* The cumulative Federal, state and local budget is balanced right now. Federal debt as a percentage of G.N.P. fell from 103.5 percent in 1946 to only 27.1 percent in 1979. Of seven leading industrial

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LETTERS.

WOMEN AND MURDER

New York City

In her review of my book *Women Who Kill* [" 'The Story of Women'?" *The Nation*, Nov. 29, 1980], Susan Jacoby argues that while "the common-law definition of self-defense might logically be stretched to acquit a woman who killed a man with a knife or a gun when he was attacking her with his fists, it could hardly accommodate an attack upon a sleeping man—however loathsome and violent the man had proven himself in the past." In fact, in many jurisdictions the issue is not simply whether a person who kills was under attack at the time but whether he *believed*, rightly or wrongly, that he was in imminent danger of death or great bodily harm. Traditional self-defense law in many jurisdictions also holds that the situation must be evaluated from the perspective of the defendant, and his "subjective perception" need not, as Jacoby insists, correspond to "objective reality." When the defendant is a woman the same principles apply, and, as the Washington State Supreme Court ruled in 1977, the situation must be evaluated from her point of view (*State* v. *Wanrow*). Thus a Kansas court exonerated Deborah Davis on grounds of self-defense after she shot her sleeping husband, believing that when he woke up he would kill her (*State* v. *Davis*; see also *South Carolina* v. *Cynthia Hutto*, a case in which the woman was acquitted on self-defense grounds after shooting her husband who was not attacking her at the time but from whom she perceived imminent danger).

The more common defense of temporary insanity is not simply, as Jacoby says, "a device juries use when enforcing the letter of the law would violate their ideas of moral justice." (Juries, by the way, can't "use" what has not been introduced; it is lawyers, not jurors, who set forth the legal parameters of a case.) Rather, the temporary insanity defense suggests that the fault lies, however fleetingly, with the defendant; while the self-defense defense suggests that the defendant is fully justified in committing homicide, having done no more than any reasonable person might have done under the circumstances.

That a woman who commits homicide in self-defense might be acting justifiably was recognized in the cases of Wanrow, Davis, Hutto and others. Yet these cases are exceptional, and many women who kill in what they describe as self-defense situations are sentenced to long terms for manslaughter or murder. Jacoby, who goes by common-sense "logic" rather than the law, implies that women are treated with understanding and leniency thanks to "a significant shift in public perceptions of what constitutes justice for a woman who has long been subject to the abuse of male power." In fact, the reverse appears to be true. Punishment for women often is swift, sure and long because many courts, like Jacoby, simply will not find "objective reality" in the "subjective perception" of a woman who kills.

Ann Jones

THE NEW DESPOTISM IN IRAN

Chevy Chase, Md.

Since Prof. Richard Falk has been an enthusiast almost to a point of seeming a propagandist for the Iranian revolution, he should be commended for noting the sins as well as the virtues of the new regime ["Balance Sheet on a Revolution," *The Nation*, Jan. 17]. The list of sins is much shorter than it should be; its significance is gravely understated. Nevertheless, it is clear that one despotism has replaced another, just as the vicious Savak has been replaced by a vicious Savama, directed as Falk points out by the former deputy director of Savak.

Falk's list includes: the near absolute power of the Faqhi or religious guide; secret trials and bloody executions; denial of basic rights; floggings; persecution of ethnic minorities; persecution of religious minorities; persecution of political oppositionists; raids on bookstores; the closing of schools; foreign assassinations officially sanctioned; numerous violations of embassy sanctity, not counting the American Embassy occupation; the repression of Iranian women, forcing them back to their traditional abject subordination.

This is a list of "shortcomings" to Falk. Is it not really an indictment? He seems to be making an emotionally difficult re-evaluation, saying he is "troubled by the evolving character of the Iranian revolution" but that "it is still too soon to pass judgment." Is he waiting for another sign such as the judicial murder of the only woman to have ever become an Iranian Government minister, executed apparently for spreading the corruption of Western educational ideas, for being a Bahai and for being a symbol of the modern, liberated (evil) woman?

Falk is a member of *The Nation*'s Editorial Board. From all appearances, he has represented *The Nation*'s judgments on Iran. Is it not time for him and for a magazine edited with a "fanatic" devotion to our First Amendment, to democracy and civil liberties to come to grips with the fact that a revolution against tyranny does not, unfortunately, guarantee an end to tyranny?

Theodore Wilentz

FALK REPLIES

Princeton, N.J.

Sometimes I yearn for Mr. Wilentz's clarity, but not often. My effort all along has been to portray the Iranian revolutionary process honestly, which, at the moment, leads me to acknowledge disappointments, but nothing like the total disillusionment Wilentz would have me spread across the pages of *The Nation*. If Iran today is compared with Pahlevi Iran, with the course of other revolutionary processes, or with its regional neighbors, then I continue to pronounce favorably.

No indeed, one despotism has not replaced another, at least not yet. In fact, Iran is limping along without a firm governing process. If anything, the current disposition is toward anarchy rather than tyranny.

In fact, two distinct political tendencies are struggling for dominance in Iran. The first, associated with the Islamic Republican Party, seems indeed headed in a religious fascist direction, but the other, under Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, is firmly committed to democratic socialist values. Since the war with Iraq, Bani-Sadr's stature has grown, and he now seems to have the armed forces behind him. Even Khomeini, once assumed to be pushing the revolution into I.R.P. hands, has been leaning more and more in Bani-Sadr's direction. In any event, until this inner Iranian struggle is resolved it is too early to label the revolution as "this" or "that."

After all the harm outsiders have done Iran over the centuries, the least we can now do is to refrain from premature condemnation. *Richard Falk*

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EDITORIALS.

The New Crusade

The "so-called Third World" of Gen. Alexander Haig's confirmation hearings has become just plain lower-case "third world" in the State Department's report on Communist support for the insurrection in El Salvador. But even with the sneer removed, the Haig-Reagan behavior toward this particular poor country "in our own backyard" remains eccentric, dangerous and contemptuous both of the underdeveloped world and of decent opinion everywhere.

Haig has been permitted to make El Salvador the first centerpiece of the banquet launching the new Crusade. The march is against Communism, of course, of the Godless and World variety. The aim is to free the Salvadorans from the infidels bearing the banners of Marx, Lenin, Brezhnev and Castro, or at least to liberate the Fourteen Families that own almost all the land and wealth in that miserable oligarchy.

As in the days of yore, the leaders of our Crusade have dispatched emissaries to seek support abroad for our effort to drive out the heathen. They bear with them documents purporting to prove that the agonized popular uprising against intolerable oppression is just "another case of indirect armed aggression against a small third world country by Communist powers acting through Cuba." The insurgents' weapons, we are told, come from Vietnam, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Libya and other lands answerable to Moscow.

There is no sign that the diplomatic missions of Lawrence S. Eagleburger and Vernon A. Walters have made any converts to Haig's cause. Europeans look on it as the harbinger of at least a consistent attitude toward Moscow, unlike Carter's. But they seem not to be dazzled by its prudence or good sense. Latin America (except for our Chilean clients who were granted new hunting licenses when Haig "normalized" relations with the murderous Pinochet regime) looks askance. Venezuela's Foreign Minister sees the Haig initiative as simply "trying to transfer [Washington's] confrontation with the Soviet Union to Latin America."

That is an accurate statement of the case. Haig and Ronald Reagan have made no effort to enlist the democratic

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elements in Latin America in a common effort to exclude outsiders from an area that has been in revolutionary ferment for generations. That, of course, is because they want this to be the business of the United States alone—global instead of regional, East-West instead of North-South. It is all askew, a strange perversion of the Monroe Doctrine on noninterference in the affairs of this hemisphere. Havana and Moscow are the targets of this policy, and they cannot be reached by the tactics chosen by General Haig.

All this is supposed to look very virile and tough-minded. No wavering, no scruples. Take a few risks. The motivation is the same as John Foster Dulles's when in 1954 he had the Central Intelligence Agency overthrow the elected Arbenz Government in Guatemala, upon discovering that this was all he could do to "roll back" something that could be called "leftist" but which was really ineffectual centrist reformism.

Haig may be more determined than the bombastic Dulles, and Reagan is surely much less in command than the prudent Eisenhower, who constantly reined in his Secretary of State. If so, we are in for a very bad turn of events, and not just in Latin America. Haig assured the allied ambassadors he summoned to a briefing that "we do not intend to have another Vietnam" in El Salvador. Still, we already have some "advisers" down there, and the flow of "lethal" weapons to the junta has become a cascade.

Right now, the main difference between El Salvador and Vietnam is one of geography—2,000 miles away, not 12,000. And then there is history, the long sad tale of U.S. interference in Latin America, always in the interest of exploitation, always ending in still more repression. Haig-Reaganism is a new twist of that old screw, with the ominous addition of a revived and virulent global anti-Communist crusade. Before Secretary Haig takes one more step in Central America, Congress should take a hard look at the War Powers Act. Crusades can start oddly and end terribly.

Into the Fire

Extradition—sending an escaped prisoner back to the state from which he fled—is usually a routine business for a governor. But when the fugitive is notorious and faces death or serious injury on his return, the decision can be very hard because it raises touchy questions of politics and relations with another governor and the possibility of heavy flak from the law-enforcement establishment. That kind of decision now faces Gov. Jerry Brown of California in the case of James Dean Walker, a fugitive from an Arkansas prison.

The Arkansas prison system was described by a Federal court as "A dark and evil world . . . inherently dangerous." The system drew national attention in 1967-68 when a reform-minded superintendent named Tom Murton, who was the model for the hero in the Robert Redford movie *Brubaker*, dug up skeletons of murdered inmates. Since then, conditions in the Arkansas prisons have been found by the Federal courts to violate prisoners' constitutional rights, and the system is under a judicial order to improve. Nevertheless, in September 1978, an inmate died by "manual strangulation" from a broken neck suffered during what prison officials call "horseplay" with a guard who had a reputation for brutality. And just a few weeks ago, the Director of Corrections disclosed that inmates' charges of guard beatings and other brutality in May and June 1980 have been sustained.

James Dean Walker faces some very special dangers. Convicted of killing a policeman in 1963—a conviction that some judges and lawyers have questioned—Walker became a prison activist while maintaining an exemplary record. In 1974, however, he antagonized Warden A. L. Lockhart, who reportedly threatened to kill him. Lockhart has been accused of making death threats on other occasions, as well as beating prisoners and stealing prison supplies. He is currently under investigation by the Justice Department.

In 1975, after serving twelve years, Walker escaped. He had again been turned down for parole, the latest of many such rejections. At each parole hearing, platoons of police officers appeared to oppose his release, and Walker became convinced that he would never be free. He settled near Lake Tahoe, California, where he worked as a shoemaker, opened a successful leather goods shop and lived quietly. In November 1979, he was arrested in an incident involving the possession of some Quaaludes (which belonged to someone else), fingerprinted and exposed.

Despite sworn statements from judges, correctional officials and others that, in the words of an Arkansas state police commissioner, "to return [Walker] will mean sure death for him," Governor Brown initially granted the request for extradition. Legal proceedings have delayed things, however, and Brown still has an opportunity to change his mind.

Walker's case presents enough special circumstances so that he would ordinarily have a good chance to avoid extradition. He has served twelve years, seems rehabilitated and faces a high risk of death or serious injury if he is returned. And a lot of support has been generated for him. Just last month, for example, a San Francisco Bar Association committee urged Brown not to extradite Walker because to do so would be "an affront to those human-rights

Next Week in The Nation

Philip Agee tells
"Why I Named the Names."

Accompanying Agee's article will be comments by Frances FitzGerald, Jean Bethke Elshtain, Thomas Emerson, Aryeh Neier, Thomas Powers and Frank Donner on the Intelligence Identities Protection bill now before Congress, which has dangerous implications for freedom of the press.

Also: Nicholas von Hoffman on Time Inc. on "American Renewal."

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principles which the United States has been struggling to see accepted throughout the world for the past thirty years."

Politics and mercy don't mix easily, however, especially in these flinty times when a cold-hearted Babbittry seems to have taken over. Brown wants to run for the United States Senate in 1982, and the well-organized law-enforcement lobby in California will flay him if he changes his mind and allows Walker to stay. So it looks as if James Dean Walker will be forced to return to his Arkansas prison cell, and our wretched prison system may soon claim another victim.

Capitalism

(Continued From Front Cover)

countries, the United States had the lowest ratio of government deficits as a percentage of G.N.P.—1 percent in 1977-79, compared with 3 percent in West Germany and 6 percent in Japan, whose economies are far outperforming our own. The Congressional Budget Office has estimated that every $10 billion cut in Federal spending would reduce inflation by one-tenth of 1 percent.

§ *America Has a Capital Shortage.* Conservative economist Pierre Rinfret testified in 1977 that the capital markets were glutted. The next year *Business Week* said of the oil industry, "The prospect of big pools of incoming cash presents industry strategists with a compelling need to find outlets for that cash." Indeed, according to free-market theory, which in other circumstances is devoutly followed by this Administration, there can't be a capital shortage: if there's a need and a market, the capital will be there; otherwise, not.

§ *Investment Is Dangerously Low.* Director David Stockman of the Office of Management and Budget said the United States is "on the dangerous path of consuming its own capital and living off its own savings." Yet total investment (apart from housing) has risen from 9.5 percent of G.N.P. in 1950 to 9.6 percent in 1960, 10.5 percent in 1970 and 11.3 percent in 1980.

§ *Individual Taxes Are Too High.* America ranks eleventh of twelve major industrial nations in the share of personal income taken by the tax collector. In this country it is 29 percent; in France, 39 percent; in West Germany and Britain, 37 percent, and in the Netherlands, 46 percent. In his book *The Zero-Sum Society*, Lester Thurow argues that "All our empirical studies show that our current taxes are far below the levels that create disincentives to work . . . highly progressive tax systems (much more progressive than the tax system now in place) do not seem to reduce work effort."

§ *Corporate Taxes Are Too High.* In the Eisenhower years, receipts from corporate income taxes made up 20 percent of all Federal revenues; today they provide only 12 percent. According to the Congressional Joint Tax Committee, taxes on all capital contribute 43.5 percent of all revenues in Japan compared with 39.25 percent in the United States.

§ *Lower Taxes Mean More Work, More Investment, More Revenues.* The Government Accounting Office concluded that $19 billion of investment tax credits in 1978 affected investment decisions very little. A recent study by the Treasury's Office of Tax Analysis found that big investment tax credits "buy little or no additional equipment." Business invests if there is a profit to be made, not because one of its costs is reduced. *Working Papers* editor Bob Kuttner has written, "Lowering taxes is just as likely to encourage people to substitute leisure for work," as to encourage more work and saving. According to Walter Heller, President Kennedy's chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, "The notion that a tax cut's prompt demand stimulus—let alone its long-delayed supply stimulus—could generate enough revenue to pay for itself, unfortunately finds no support in the available statistical evidence."

§ *Costs of Regulation Hurt Industry.* President Reagan said in 1976 Federal regulation of the auto industry cost $666 per car. Yet when the Federal auto safety agency asked car manufacturers how much the price would fall if there were no regulation, the answer was $80 per car. The President also estimated that all Federal regulation costs $120 billion a year in expenditures and "compliance costs," but $25 billion of that is Internal Revenue Service paperwork, which is hardly "regulation," as the term is commonly used. Only $32 billion is the kind of environmental and consumer regulation he so often attacks—or only 1 percent of G.N.P.

§ *Our Society Is Too Egalitarian.* While the number of poor fell by half in the 1960s, poor people continued to make up about 11 percent of the total population throughout the 1970s. The "progressive" tax system in this country, according to economists Joseph Pechman and Benjamin Okner, is really "proportional," taking roughly the same percentage bite out of an income of $20,000 as it does out of $200,000. According to the O.E.C.D. (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) only France among democratic industrial nations has a greater income inequality than the United States. West Germany and Japan have more equality—and more productivity.

§ *We're Worse Off.* President Reagan in his first economics address to the nation argued that "we're very much worse off" in 1980 than 1960. But per capita income after taxes rose some 80 percent, from $2,709 to $4,567 (in constant 1972 dollars) during those twenty years.

Exactly what, then, stands behind the Republicans' economic ideology—other than thirty years of after-dinner speeches to business and conservative gatherings by the President? Unless "God is a Republican," as Prof. John Kenneth Galbraith has put it, a successful economic program simply cannot be based on such faulty premises. The program's impact on inflation and unemployment in the real world—not Mr. Reagan's winning smile and adroit delivery—will be the only barometer of success. By then, it may become apparent that, like the last Administration, this one is better at getting elected than at managing the economy.

Mark Green is a public interest lawyer and the author of several books on government and business, including "Who Runs Congress?" *(Bantam Books).*

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DISPATCHES.

■ MEXICO: Big Brother

Although Mexico makes no secret of its support for the Salvadoran Democratic Revolutionary Front, it continues to have diplomatic relations with El Salvador's junta (the Mexican ambassador was withdrawn last year, but a chargé d'affaires and a small staff remain in San Salvador) and even supplies it with cheap oil under a special aid program. But the Government's policy has come under fire in recent months from Mexican leftists, who demand that relations with El Salvador be broken off. The critics point out that President José Lopez Portillo dramatically withdrew recognition from the Somoza Government in May 1979, just as the Sandinists began their final offensive.

"The level of violence is even worse in El Salvador than in Nicaragua," Mexican Foreign Minister Jorge Castañeda conceded recently in an interview with Carlos Fazio of the weekly *Proceso*, "but this isn't the only factor on which to base a break in relations. As of right now . . . the struggle has not advanced to the point where one can recognize the opposition as a belligerent that has a territorial base. And there are still other factors. In fact, we know indirectly that the Salvadoran opposition itself doesn't think this is the moment."

The "other factors" include the aid Mexico has extended to the Democratic Revolutionary Front, some of it via the Mexican Embassy in San Salvador, which is likely to remain inviolate as long as the Duarte Government gets cut-rate Mexican oil. The embassy has served as a mail drop for the opposition and for visiting journalists, and as a way station for those fleeing Government repression. In January, Jorge Pinto, director of the opposition newspaper, *El Independiente* (now shut down), fled with the help of Mexican diplomats. Pinto's escape, and his gratitude to the Mexicans, was well publicized; most such flights are less visible.

Salvadoran opposition leaders are lavish in their praise of Mexico while chary with details on the extent of its aid. "Mexico's aid," said guerrilla leader Salvador Cayetano Carpio last month, "is one of the decisive elements for our liberation." The Salvadoran left is counting on Mexico to help block any attempt in the Organization of American States to send a "peacekeeping force" to El Salvador. President Lopez Portillo has repeatedly warned Washington not to intervene in the conflict and has promised that Mexico "will use every available legal means to insure that the international community guarantees Salvadoran sovereignty."

"Mexico is our big brother," sums up Cayetano Carpio.

■ PAKISTAN: The Islamic Bomb (Cont.)

Over the past several years, Libya's Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi has pursued a number of schemes to acquire nuclear weapons. One of these was financing Pakistan's nuclear-development project near Islamabad. But now, according to the London *Sunday Times*, the Pakistanis have jilted Qaddafi for Saudi gold. The *Times* says that an agreement will soon be signed under which Saudi Arabia will provide Pakistan with $800 million to develop an H-bomb.

In 1977 and 1978, Qaddafi entered into partnership with his friend Ali Bhutto, then President of Pakistan, to develop an "Islamic bomb." Qaddafi supplied the money and uranium yellowcake (which Libya purchased from Niger), and Bhutto's nuclear engineers were supposed to come up with a bomb. Following Bhutto's ouster and execution in 1979, however, relations between the two countries deteriorated. When Pakistan's new leader, Gen. Zia ul-Haq, refused to guarantee that Qaddafi would actually get a nuclear bomb for his money, the volatile dictator walked away from the partnership.

General Zia then approached Iraq for aid. When news of a possible Pakistan-Iraq nuclear entente reached the Saudis, they were alarmed because they do not want Iraq to be the first Arab nation to acquire the bomb. Secret talks were held with Pakistani officials in Europe, and the $800 million aid proposal was made at that time.

Undeterred, Colonel Qaddafi is continuing his quest for nuclear weapons. In January, Libya established a new ministry for atomic energy and announced plans to expand its nuclear research facilities. The Libyan Government already has a small, functioning research reactor provided by the Soviet Union and is encouraging its students abroad to study nuclear physics. In addition to purchasing uranium ore from Niger, Libya has occupied Chad, which is believed to have uranium deposits. Only straws in the wind, perhaps, but it seems unlikely that Libya, which is floating on oil, is planning to convert to nuclear power.

■ FRANCE: T.M.I. in Brittany?

Little coverage has appeared in the U.S. or even the French press of a serious accident at a nuclear processing plant on the Brittany peninsula in northern France. French atomic energy officials, following a routine cover-up policy, tried to minimize the severity of the accident, which occurred on January 6 at La Hague nuclear facility near Cherbourg. Officials said that the fire in a storage tank containing highly toxic magnesium waste had contaminated only one building and a single worker. But Saul Bloom of the anti-nuclear organization Greenpeace, who has talked with French counterparts in Cherbourg, reports: "On the morning after the fire, 1,200 workers went to get examined at the plant's medical facility. Four hundred out of the 1,200 were found to have some level of radiation, mostly in the hair, hands and clothing. Many of the workers had gone home to their families on Tuesday night wearing contaminated clothing."

Two days after the fire, half of La Hague's 2,500 workers went on strike, demanding that the plant be thoroughly decontaminated before they returned to work. Tests sponsored by the French Confederation of Workers revealed levels of radioactivity several hundred times higher than normal in the surrounding dairy region. Brice Lalonde, leader of France's environmental political party, Partie Ecologiste, suggested that the plant might have to be closed down.

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ELIZABETH FARNSWORTH AND STEPHEN TALBOT

That, however, is not likely. The French Government is aggressively pursuing nuclear energy development to ease the country's overreliance on Middle East oil imports. France's state-owned nuclear industry, COGEMA, expects to have forty nuclear power plants in operation by 1985.

There is no independent nuclear regulatory agency in France, and the Government tightly controls the flow of information about the industry. Nevertheless, criticism of the nuclear program is growing. Last December, Jean Servant, France's top nuclear safety official, resigned, charging that the Government blocked his inspections. Worker protest about the accident at La Hague could blow the Government's cover-up.

■ SOUTH AFRICA: The Soviet Connection

When South African Prime Minister P. W. Botha announced early general elections (that is, whites only) to be held April 29, he knew how to stir the blood of his party stalwarts. "A Russian spy operating in this country has been arrested," Botha told Parliament in Cape Town. He identified the K.G.B. agent as Maj. Alexei Mikhailovich Kozlov, who allegedly had been infiltrated into South Africa to assess the results of Soviet aid to the African National Congress, the banned anti-apartheid group.

While Botha was warning his supporters to prepare for a Soviet-backed "total onslaught" against South Africa, one of South Africa's wealthiest white businessmen was watching *Boris Godunov* at the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow. According to the West German newsweekly *Der Spiegel*, a surprised friend spotted the visiting businessman, Gordon Waddell, a senior executive at South Africa's most powerful mining conglomerate, Anglo-American. Asked what he was doing in Moscow, Waddell mumbled he was "only passing through" and slipped away in the company of two Soviet officials.

Western experts cited by *Der Spiegel* suspect that Waddell was in Moscow to negotiate a secret U.S.S.R.-South African strategy for marketing diamonds and precious metals. Preposterous? Not when you consider that the two ideological enemies are the world's largest producers and exporters of gold, diamonds and platinum, and so have economic interests in common. Soviet diamonds are sold in the West through the London-based Central Selling Organization, a cartel organized by De Beers (Anglo-American's diamond company) that markets 80 percent of the world's diamonds.

Some evidence that there is a secret Moscow-Pretoria marketing strategy lies in the fact that both countries have withheld gold from the world market in order to build up their reserves at a time when gold prices have hit phenomenal highs. Between 1976 and 1978 the Soviet Union sold more than 400 tons of gold to the West. Last year, that figure declined to 100 tons, but the soaring price of gold meant that the Russians were able to earn as much as in previous years. South Africa's sales have also begun to decline.

When it comes to gold and diamonds, what's good for South Africa's apartheid regime is good for the Soviet Union.

■ PHILIPPINES: Stark Warnings

Although opposition political leaders are reluctant to say so, all signs point to a revival of urban bombings and other guerrilla actions in the Philippines. "The opposition has two options," warns exiled Senator Benigno Aquino. "To accelerate the downfall of the Marcos regime by violent action, or to negotiate for the dismantling of the martial law regime." Unless President Ferdinand Marcos accepts a "negotiated gradual reduction" of the absolute power he retains, says Aquino, "violent guerrilla action" could turn the Philippines into another El Salvador.

"Dispatches" has learned that this grim possibility, and Aquino's determination to appear as a man who exhausted every option before condoning violence, were the reasons behind the two long meetings the former Senator held in mid-January with Marcos's wife, Imelda, at the Waldorf Towers in New York City. Marcos's decision to lift martial law on January 17, Aquino knew, was partly a concession to the opposition forces he represents. It was also an attempt to get those forces to stop the urban guerrilla actions which have so damaged the country's international image [see "Dispatches," *The Nation*, December 20, 1980].

After the Waldorf Towers talks, Aquino reportedly passed word to his allies in the Philippines to "wait and see" how far Marcos's changes would go. Early signs were auspicious. Members of the April 6 and Light a Fire guerrilla movements were secretly included among the 141 freed political prisoners. This was considered a signal that Marcos might indeed make substantive changes.

The "cautious optimism" of the exiled leaders was short-lived, though, as Marcos made clear his intentions to keep the Government's broad security powers intact and assure his rule for at least six more years through sham elections. Most ominous, perhaps, hard-liners in the military scoffed at the opposition's belligerent threats and forcefully opposed further liberalization.

More guerrilla actions, then, are likely. Aquino disclaims any ties with the guerrilla groups, but he knows their plans. "Buildings will be blown up," he warned in a speech last August, and then "corrupt Presidential cronies and Cabinet ministers assassinated." This is the prelude to the "catastrophe" Aquino foresees unless Marcos relinquishes power on his own.

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ARTICLES.

ALTERNATIVE TO SUPPLY SIDE

The True Road To Industrial Renewal

ROBERT B. REICH

The rampant inflation, high unemployment and negative international trade balances that have plagued the American economy in recent years, and resisted cure by fiscal and monetary policies alone, are symptoms of America's worsening international competitive position.

Imports and exports now constitute 24 percent of our gross national product, up from just 14 percent in 1970. During the past decade nearly two million manufacturing jobs have been lost to foreign trade. Over that same period the share of the world market claimed by U.S. manufactured goods has fallen by 23 percent.

Although there is widespread agreement on the cause of the spreading economic malaise, what government and industry in the United States should do about it has provoked considerable controversy. Right now the loudest voices in the land are calling for government measures to raise the level of investment by reducing consumption, so that new capital can be created. These proponents of supply-side economics typically argue that government should interfere less in the economy: taxes should be reduced to encourage savings and investment, regulation and antitrust enforcement should be curtailed and government should curb the growth of public expenditures for Social Security, health and welfare. President Reagan's recently announced economic program is based squarely on these principles.

Such measures surely will be painful for many Americans, particularly the poor. Since the propensity to save is higher for the rich than the poor, a tax cut for savers and investors is likely to result in a regressive shift in the tax burden. It also will reduce the standard of living of a substantial number of our citizens who, because of age, ill health or lack of job training, must rely to a significant extent on public assistance. Poorer citizens are also particularly dependent on "public goods" like clean air and safe working conditions, which the more wealthy of our citizens can purchase for themselves by living in less polluted neighborhoods and opting for safer jobs.

Worse, the sacrifices of the poor may be for nothing. A central tenet of the supply-siders' faith is that capital formation is the primary source of future productivity. But this proposition is far from established. Indeed, the available evidence shows no direct link between capital investment and output. Our rate of productivity growth declined between 1967 and 1973, yet the rate of growth of capital formation during this period was higher than it has been at any time in the postwar period. Indeed, our annual investment in manufacturing, measured as a percentage of manufacturing output, has increased steadily over the decade, and has not been substantially below that of Japan or West Germany.

Moreover, as our economy has shifted from manufacturing to services, the amount of capital we need to sustain rapid growth has diminished. This is because service businesses require less capital than manufacturing businesses. Between 1960 and 1978, while employment in manufacturing rose 21 percent, the number of persons providing services grew by 72 percent. And service exports—engineering, insurance, banking, consulting—have grown accordingly; they are now rising at a faster clip than any other category of foreign trade—15.7 percent a year, compared with a 6.7 percent growth in merchandised trade.

Finally, it seems reasonably clear that our future economic growth will be dependent on knowledge-intensive, rather than capital-intensive, businesses. Our emerging industries (biotechnology, lasers, semiconductors) require far less capital per worker than the heavy industries that previously dominated our economy (autos, steel, shipbuilding). Thus, in an advanced industrial economy, the trend toward a declining overall level of investment may be entirely appropriate and even desirable.

What is more, much of the limited capital we now have has been frittered away on nonproductive uses—merely rearranging the ownership of industrial assets rather than increasing their real value. There is every reason to believe that the same fate will befall any additional infusion of capital. In the last three years, for example, some $100 billion of corporate cash resources has been used to acquire existing corporate assets through tender offers. The vast bulk of these transactions involve conglomerates absorbing unrelated lines of business. Despite all the claims about the "synergy" that such combinations produce, there is very little evidence to suggest that the average merger has enhanced the basic profitability or productivity of the merging enterprises. Other investments that currently preoccupy our money managers are more obviously speculative: foreign-currency contracts, commodities, financial futures and real estate.

All this asset-rearranging activity diverts the attention of corporate executives, who spend their time fending off takeovers, responding to depositions and devising novel tax and accounting schemes rather than building better products. It also creates vast service industries in law, accounting, tax consulting and finance, to which some of our most talented and creative citizens are drawn.

If the supply-siders' nostrums for increasing the level of capital investment are questionable at best, what is the alter-

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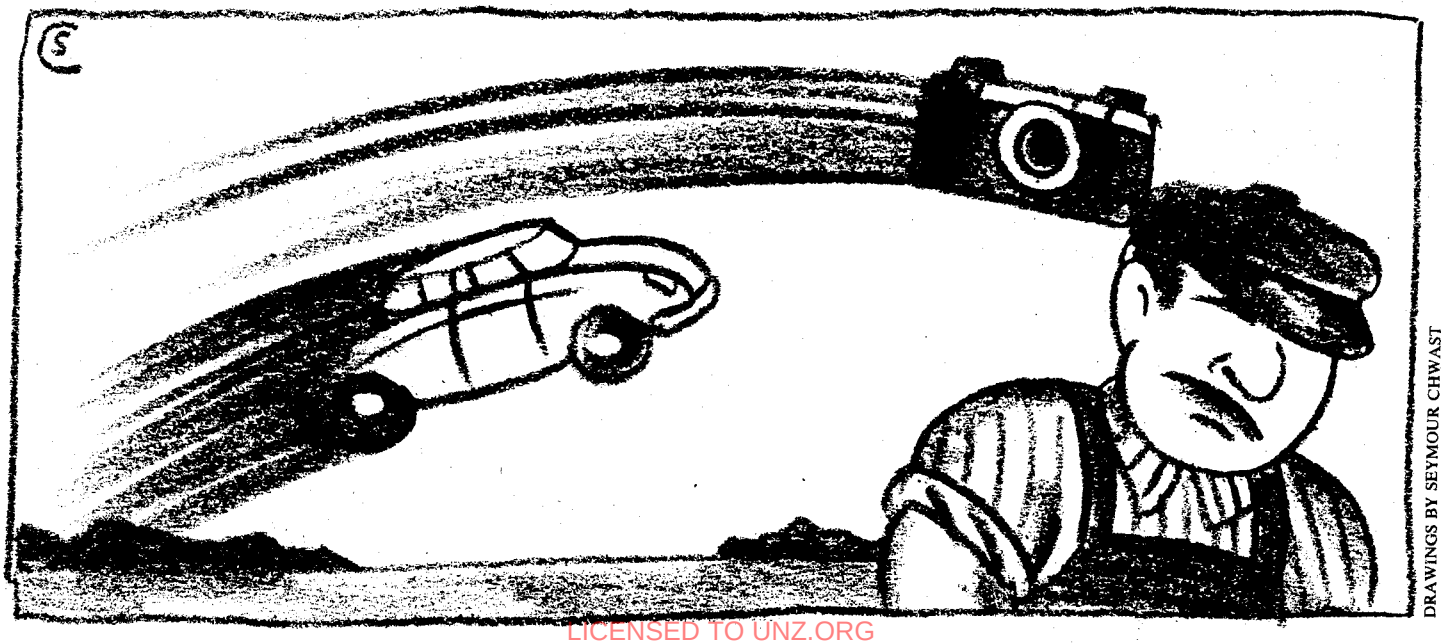
native? Some argue for preserving the economic relationships of the past, outmoded or not, by controlling price increases, erecting tariffs and quotas against foreign imports, regulating factory closings and relocations, limiting direct investment abroad and investing public funds in dying industries. But markets cannot be frozen in time like Brigadoon. Moreover, such restrictions may have the perverse effect of stifling economic growth while imposing substantial costs on the economy.

The real alternative to supply-side economics goes under the name of "industrial policy." Industrial policy is little known or understood in America, although Japan and Western Europe have been using its techniques for many years. Proponents of industrial policy worry less about capital formation than do supply-side economists, but worry more about how capital is allocated. Rather than regard the economy as a "zero-sum" game in which the standard of living of many citizens must be sacrificed to obtain a higher level of investment, industrial policy concentrates on how government can obtain the most productive possible *pattern* of investment, particularly with regard to high-wage industries in which the United States can achieve a competitive advantage in the world economy.

Both supply-siders and industrial policy proponents assume that the individual market decisions of countless consumers and investors are preferable to letting government determine what goods and services should be produced in the economy and how investment should be allocated. But proponents of industrial policy argue that the practical choice is not between government intervention and nonintervention. To a significant degree, government already shapes industrial development through procurement and research and development programs. For example, the Federal Government (largely through the Department of Defense) now purchases more than half of all aircraft, more than half of all radio and TV communications equipment, a fourth of all the engineering and scientific instruments and a third of all electron tubes and nonferrous forgings manufactured in the United States. Indeed, government procurement as a percentage of the gross national product is twice as high in the United States as it is in Japan, which is far more advanced in applying industrial policy. Equally important, the Federal Government currently funds more than 35 percent of all U.S. industrial research and development, and employs (directly or indirectly) more than 30 percent of our nation's scientists and engineers. These effects will be larger in the years ahead, as an increased defense budget makes up a greater percentage of the G.N.P.

Beyond such programs, the Federal Government affects the pattern of investment through a host of other policies: tariffs, quotas and order marketing agreements; tax laws and rulings; loan guarantees and subsidies; public lands management; publicly financed insurance. In 1980 alone, tax benefits to particular industries totaled $70 billion; the Government issued $221.6 billion in loan guarantees and $60 billion in direct loans, and it had $2 trillion worth of outstanding insurance. Taken altogether, these Government expenditures that act to promote certain industries or businesses amounted to 13.9 percent of the G.N.P.

Yet none of these programs have been evaluated in terms of their effectiveness in enhancing competitiveness on the world market. None have been viewed as part of a coherent industrial policy. Rather, they are formulated by agencies and Congressional subcommittees closest to well-established industries and therefore most susceptible to special pleading. The result has been a political hodgepodge of subsidies. The Government now spends five times as much on research and development for commercial fisheries as it does for steel; it gives $455 million in tax breaks to the timber industry but none to the semiconductor industry; more than $6 billion in loans and loan guarantees go to the shipbuilding industry, compared with $940 million to the auto industry. In addition, tariffs on CB radios, apparel, shoes and sugar now cost U.S. consumers $2.8 billion a year; import restrictions on steel have raised the costs and reduced the competitiveness of every U.S. producer dependent on the metal (motorcycles, autos, appliances, machinery), while price controls on oil and gas have yielded cheap feedstocks for U.S. synthetic fiber manufacturers, giving them 23 percent lower mill costs than their European competitors. Mean-



DRAWINGS BY SEYMOUR CHWAST

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while, special tax and credit provisions have channeled one-third of gross domestic investment into residential construction.

Industrial policy proponents argue that without an explicit strategy designed to improve competitive performance of our economy in world markets, government will simply let the politically strongest or most active businesses within each industry make policy. Unless government takes the initiative by easing the transition from declining industries and actively promoting new ones in anticipation of such declines, it will be forced to yield to political pressure and channel capital to the losers.

But industrial policy is not merely a matter of better adjusting to structural changes in the economy. Government promotion of certain industries can also be a positive force for economic development. International competition among advanced industrial countries has become a race in which the first manufacturer to achieve high volume and gain experience can underprice all its potential international rivals. Government can provide a head start in this race by subsidizing the growth of such industries. New technologies often require massive and accelerated infusions of capital in order to achieve the scale of production and know-how necessary for competitive development—larger and quicker than capital markets can provide. Our present competitive advantages in aircraft and semiconductors, for example, are due in no small measure to Government procurement. The Federal Government accounted for 92 percent of all aircraft sales in the 1950s; a whole generation of commercial aircraft was spun off from these defense-related prototypes. Government purchases of semiconductors accounted for close to 40 percent of all semiconductor sales in the 1950s, making possible our present lead in this field. A similar story can be told about rayon, synthetic rubber, antibiotics, communication satellite technology and nuclear power—all major international competitors.

Indeed, international competitiveness has become an explicit policy objective of the governments of Japan, France, West Germany and the United Kingdom. They are vigorously promoting industries with the greatest promise of international competitiveness, through subsidies, loans and special tax advantages. Government-owned or -controlled enterprises now produce 85 percent of all the oil of the non-Communist world, 54 percent of steel, 35 percent of polyethylene, 20 percent of automobiles. In addition, these governments are providing incentives for semiconductors, biotechnology and lasers. In 1978, national governments and state enterprises accounted for 65 percent of all borrowing on Eurocurrency markets—up from 20 percent just three years before. The United States must get in step soon; our rivals will not wait for us.

The emerging debate between supply-siders and proponents of industrial policy has been more ideological than pragmatic; it is framed in terms of the ideal relationship between governments and markets rather than the hard realities of international competition. As a practical matter, future policy makers must opt for industrial policy because it provides a far more efficient way to enlarge national wealth than does supply-side economics. Our pattern of investment directly determines our international competitiveness, while the level of investment affects it only remotely, if at all. Many of our state governments are already developing explicit industrial policies. California's Gov. Jerry Brown is now proposing a $22 million package of subsidies aimed at invigorating the state's high-technology businesses; both Minnesota and North Carolina are financing large microelectronics research centers; Ohio is establishing a $5 million fund to aid high-technology companies.

The important question, therefore, is not whether we will have an industrial policy but how that policy is to be devised. Will it be hidden or visible to the public? Who will participate in its formation? The waning Carter Administration flirted with tripartite boards composed of government, business and labor representatives which would hash out an industrial policy for each of our major industries (steel, autos, coal). This was a variant on the numerous commissions and tribunals that have brought industry and government together to promote economic growth since Herbert Hoover was Secretary of Commerce.

But such boards rest on the false premise that there are only two divergent interests within every industry: business and labor. They leave out two groups with a substantial interest in productivity: consumers and innovative businesses that seek to enter the industry. As a result, tripartite boards typically have enabled the least competitive but most entrenched segments of an industry to consolidate their political bases and form powerful coalitions against structural change—demanding tariffs, quotas and bail-outs instead of the means to restructure the industry and phase out its least productive parts.

There is little danger that the Reagan Administration will tinker with tripartite boards (too much like planning). The danger is quite the opposite—that the new Administration will deny that it has an industrial policy at all. It will continue to make manifold decisions about how capital is to be allocated in the economy—only they will be made out of public view. Such a policy will make it difficult for the Administration to ignore the pleadings of particular industries (and their Congressional delegations) for special subsidies and benefits. As a result, we will have more of the same. Alternatively, we could go the way of Japan and West Germany, where industrial policies are designed by oligarchies of leading bankers and high-level government officials (it is interesting to note in this regard that a recent proposal to re-create a Reconstruction Finance Corporation came from Felix Rohatyn, a partner in the investment banking firm of Lazard Frères & Company).

The second alternative is not satisfactory either. Industrial policy making should be explicit and public. It should seek to achieve a broad consensus about how American industry can improve its competitive performance in world markets. It should involve consumers, small businesses, emerging industries and nonunion workers as well as organized labor and big business. It should also call in the best minds from the private sector—business executives, academics, financial analysts. In short, industrial

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policy must be part of the public agenda—an ongoing process of debate and analysis, reflected in newspapers, journals, public-affairs programs and classrooms. As the inevitable alternative to supply-side economics, industrial policy should truly become the public's business. □

THE INVISIBLE DEATH (PART II)

The Lethal Path Of T.M.I. Fallout

Last week, Ernest J. Sternglass, who has long been concerned about the harmful effects of low-level radiation, told of journeying to the scene of the Three Mile Island nuclear accident and growing suspicious that more lethal radioactive gases had escaped following the accident than had been publicly disclosed. These suspicions were enhanced by remarks in transcripts of a meeting of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Subsequently, Sternglass obtained a report showing that, contrary to N.R.C. claims, the Metropolitan Edison Company's instruments at the plant had recorded a large leakage of radioactive gases along with the hourly wind direction and speed. These gases contained iodine 131, which, if inhaled by pregnant women, would cause an increase in infant deaths. Thus, a rise in infant mortality rates in areas affected by the T.M.I. fallout could be expected.

—The Editors

ERNEST J. STERNGLASS

I decided to gather whatever data I could as soon as possible, for an enormous media campaign had been launched by the nuclear industry to convince the public that there were no serious health effects due to the accident at Three Mile Island on March 28, 1979. No one had died, the industry said, and no member of the public had been injured; the safety systems had worked, and there was no reason to abandon this important source of energy at a time when the United States depended so heavily on imported oil from the unstable Middle East.

In mid-August, the latest monthly report from the U.S. Center for Health Statistics for the month of May arrived. Calculating the rates of infant deaths per 1,000 live births, I found what I had expected. Instead of declining from the winter high, infant mortality in Pennsylvania had gone up following the accident at the end of March. Compared with 147 deaths in February and 141 in March, there had been 166 in April and 198 in May, an unprecedented rise of 40 percent. Yet the number of births had actually declined from 13,589 in March to 13,201 in May. Thus the rate of infant deaths per 1,000 live births had increased even more, namely by 44 percent, from 10.4 in March to 15.0 in May.

Yet, at the same time, the infant mortality rate for the United States as a whole between March and May had declined 11 percent, as it normally did, dropping from 14.1 to 12.6 per 1,000 live births.

These were highly significant changes; the Pennsylvania figures for March and May represented an increase of 57 deaths, which was more than three times the statistically expected normal fluctuation of approximately 16, and thus unlikely to occur purely by chance in less than one in a thousand instances. But how else could I test the hypothesis that these increased rates were likely to be due to the releases from Three Mile Island without having the county-by-county and the Harrisburg figures available to me?

Having learned from the utility's own report that the heaviest releases had occurred when the wind was blowing north, northwest and west, and having seen reports in the papers of high levels of radioactivity being measured in Syracuse, some 150 miles to the north, at the time of the accident, I decided to examine the figures for New York State. By a fortunate coincidence, the U.S. Vital Statistics gave separate figures for New York City and for the rest of the state, most of whose population was located in upstate New York—north, northwest and northeast of Harrisburg, some 100 to 200 miles away. Here, then, was a clear prediction of the hypothesis that could be tested: the figures for the rest of the state outside of New York City should have gone up, while New York City should either have shown no change, or an actual decline.

And this is exactly what the numbers showed: between March and May, infant deaths outside New York City climbed an amazing 52 percent, by 63 deaths, from 121 to 184. For New York City during the same period the number declined from 166 to 129. Again, these changes were many times as large as normal fluctuations, and the number of births changed relatively little, or by less than 10 percent, so that there could be no doubt about the significance of these changes in infant deaths.

So far, the hypothesis had passed its first major tests, but would it hold up for the other nearby states? What about Maryland, to the south, where some of the gases had drifted in the morning and afternoon of the second day, according to Met Ed's report? The numbers were smaller than for the most populous states, but the changes continued to support the hypothesis: Infant mortality rose 26 percent, from 39 to 49 deaths, while the number of births remained essentially unchanged—4,013 in March and 4,076 in May.

What about New Jersey, to the east and northeast of Harrisburg? If the hypothesis was correct, there should not be any significant increase, since by the fourth day of the accident, when the winds shifted toward New Jersey, the rate of release had already sharply declined. Again, the hypothesis held up under the test. Between March and May, New Jersey infant mortality rose by only 8 deaths, from 87 to 95. This is not considered a significant increase, since a spontaneous

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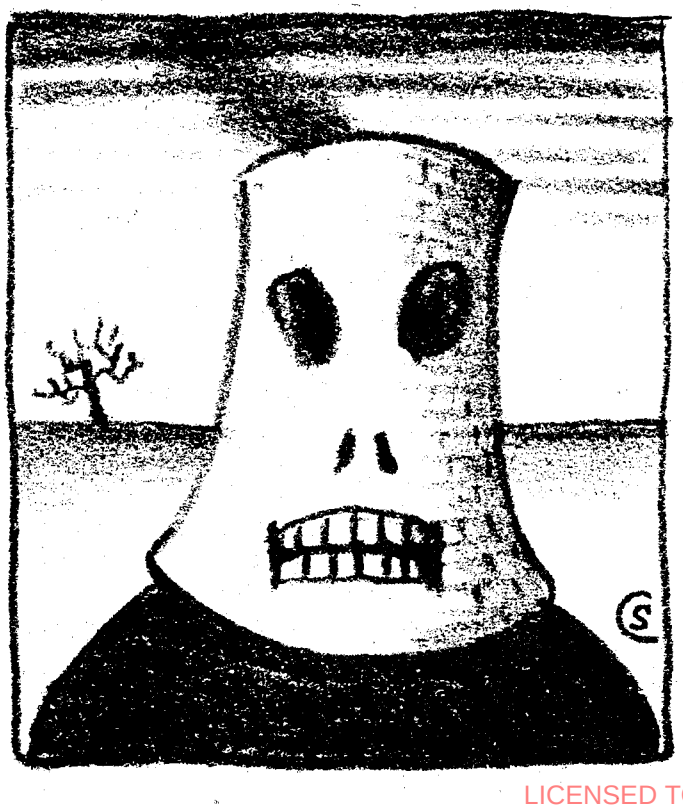
statistical fluctuation of approximately 13 is normally expected.

What about Ohio, to the west, which had for decades closely paralleled Pennsylvania in its declining infant mortality figures? Did it show the same 40 to 50 percent rises of Pennsylvania and of New York State outside New York City? It was not to be expected that the gases would have drifted more than 200 to 300 miles west of Harrisburg, counter to the generally prevailing west-to-east movement of air masses across the United States, and so there should really be very little change in the Ohio figures. Again the numbers bore this out: Between March and May, infant deaths declined in Ohio from 177 to 160, the rate remaining constant at 11.5 per 1,000 live births.

There simply could be no other explanation for such a localized pattern of sharply increased infant deaths in the areas where confined winds had blown the radioactive gases, while infant mortality rates were steady or declined in all the surrounding states that were not in the direction of the winds during the first two days of highest releases.

And yet, it would be important to have some figures for the area that was most heavily exposed close to the plant. If the figures around Harrisburg should show much higher rises in infant mortality than the 44 percent for Pennsylvania and the 50 percent for New York State outside New York City, then it would be difficult to reject the hypothesis that it was indeed the radioactive gases from the stricken plant that were responsible for the unusual increase in newborn deaths.

But only Dr. George Tokuhata of the Pennsylvania Health Department had the data for the five-mile and ten-mile zones around the plant, and there was no way that I would be able to obtain them. From everything I had been able to piece together, the numbers in Harrisburg had to show very large increases if areas as far away as 150 miles in upstate New York showed 50 percent rises in infant deaths. From my earlier studies on fallout clouds, I knew that the effect would roughly decrease in inverse proportion to the distance from the point of release. Thus, for Harrisburg, only ten miles to the north of the plant, the rise in newborn infant mortality would have to be as high as 300 percent to 600 percent, corresponding to a four- to sevenfold increase above normal, to be consistent with the rises in upstate New York.



How could I get at least an indication of whether this was the case? Just at this very moment, a way opened up to obtain this crucial information without the need to secure access to the Pennsylvania Health Department's carefully guarded data.

Earlier in the summer I had been invited to address a public meeting in Harrisburg on the likely health effects of the accident at Three Mile Island. At the end of the meeting, someone introduced himself to me, and asked me whether he could be of any help. His name was Warren Prelesnik; he told me that he was deeply concerned, since he had just moved to the area with his family shortly before the accident, and that he was working in the Harrisburg Hospital as executive vice president in charge of administration.

I asked him whether it might be possible to obtain information on the monthly number of births and infant deaths together with their causes over the past few years, and he said that he would try to see what he could do.

More than a month later, when I had already given up hope of receiving any information, there arrived in the mail a letter with a list of the monthly infant deaths, fetal deaths, stillbirths and live births in the Harrisburg Hospital for the previous two years.

At first there seemed to be no obvious change, if one looked at the total numbers of all types of fetal and infant deaths combined. But then I examined separately the category of newborn or neonatal infant deaths—those that were born alive but died within the first year, mainly in the first few hours after birth. Here was the evidence I needed. In February, March and April of 1979, there had been only 1 infant death per month. But for each of the two months of May and June, there were 4. Effectively, since the number of births had not only remained nearly the same but had actually declined slightly, this was more than a fourfold increase in the mortality rate, or of the right magnitude required to fit the observed 50 percent rise in the more distant area of upstate New York.

From an average of 5.7 per 1,000 live births in the three months of February, March and April—before the releases could have had an appreciable effect—the newborn mortality rate had risen to 24.1 for May and 26.0 for June, an unprecedented summer peak that did not occur the previous year. In fact, for May and June of 1978, there had been a total of only 3 infant deaths, while for the same period in 1979 after the accident, there had been 8.

As some of my colleagues with whom I discussed these findings agreed, by themselves the Harrisburg Hospital numbers were of course small, and just marginally significant, representing only about one-third of all the births and

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deaths in Harrisburg. But taken together with the vastly more significant and independent numbers for all of Pennsylvania, upstate New York, New York City, New Jersey, Maryland and Ohio, there was now a much greater degree of certainty: It would have been much too much of a coincidence—perhaps less than one in a million—for all these different numbers to show the pattern they did.

At this very moment, there arrived an invitation to address an international meeting of engineers and scientists in Israel. The meeting was devoted to studying the environmental problems of industrialization of Third World nations. It was to be held in December, and I was asked if I would be willing to address the meeting on the environmental health problems connected with nuclear energy.

I could hardly believe that such an opportunity to bring these facts into the open should come at precisely the time when the data from the Harrisburg Hospital had convinced me more strongly than ever of the great danger of nuclear reactors. I decided to accept the invitation and to devote myself in the remaining few months to preparing a detailed paper that would begin with a review of the previous evidence on the effects of low-level radiation from fallout and normal nuclear plant releases, and end with the evidence for the rise of infant deaths after Three Mile Island.

One of the remaining important questions that had to be checked, however, was the time and cause of death. Clearly, if the excess deaths were connected with the radioactive iodine released from the plant, then they should be associated with underweight births or immaturity, since damage to the fetal thyroid—which occurs because of radiation exposure—would slow down the normal rapid growth and development of the baby in the last few months before birth. The development of the lungs, which have to be ready to begin breathing at the moment of birth, is one of the most critical phases of late fetal development. Any developmental slowdown would be most life-threatening if it led to the inability of the tiny air sacs in the lungs to inflate and start supplying the blood with oxygen. Failure of the lungs to function properly would therefore lead to immediate symptoms of respiratory distress, and if efforts to treat the baby should not succeed, it would die in a matter of minutes, hours, or days of respiratory insufficiency or hyaline membrane disease.

Thus, one would not expect to find as large an increase in spontaneous miscarriages well before birth as newborn deaths within a short time after birth, since the lungs did not need to start functioning until the baby was born. Also, there should be no significant increase in gross congenital malformations a few months after the accident, since by the time the baby in the mother's womb had reached the sixth or seventh month of development, all the major organs had already fully developed. Thus, only some six to seven months after the accident would one expect some increase in serious physical malformations, since these infants would have been exposed to radiation in the first three months of critical-organ formation.

The data from the Harrisburg Hospital supported these expectations. There was much less of an increase in the number of spontaneous miscarriages and stillbirths than in the number of newborn babies that died shortly after birth because of immaturity and respiratory distress, indicating the strong likelihood that it was the effect of iodine 131 and other shorter-lived iodines such as iodine 133 that had damaged the ability of the thyroid to produce the necessary hormones needed for normal growth and development.

In fact, it was for this reason that I had publicly urged widespread screening for hypothyroidism at the time of the news conference in Harrisburg on the second day of the accident, the kind of simple test that could prevent permanent mental retardation if detected and treated early. This test was already being used routinely for every newborn baby born in hospitals of a number of states in New England, the Northwest Coast and Pennsylvania, but not yet in New York or Maryland. There would have to be a rise in the incidence of this condition if my past findings on the increase in underweight births and subtle forms of mental retardation during the period of heavy nuclear-bomb testing were indeed related to the action of radioactive fallout. But not until many months later, long after the Kemeny Commission (the Presidential commission, chaired by Dr. George Kemeny of Dartmouth College, studying the effects of Three Mile Island) hearings had been completed, would I learn that a rise in hypothyroidism had already been discovered by the Health Department of the State of Pennsylvania among the newborn babies in areas where the invisible radioactive gases from Three Mile Island had been carried by the winds.

Pennsylvania and United States Infant Mortality (0-1 Year Old at Death), 1979, With Corrections in July and August* (Data from the U.S. Monthly Vital Statistics)

	Pa. Deaths	*Pa. Births*	*Pa. Rate Per 1000 Births*	*U.S. Rate Per 1000 Births*	*Excess of U.S.*	*Average Excess of Pa. Per Quarter*
Jan.	216	13,112	16.5	13.8	+19%	
Feb.	147	11,892	12.4	14.6	−15%	−8%
March	141	13,589	10.4	14.1	−26%	
April	166	12,520	13.3	13.2	+ 1%	
May	198	13,201	15.0	12.6	+19%	+8%
June	163	12,293	13.3	12.9	+ 3%	
July	185*	14,680	12.6	12.5	+ 1%	
August	205*	13,918	14.7	11.0	+34%	+14%
Sept.	199	14,275	13.9	12.9	+ 8%	
Oct.	208	13,161	15.8	12.9	+22%	
Nov.	182	13,271	13.7	13.1	+ 5%	+13%
Dec.	175	11,871	14.7	13.2	+11%	

*The figures for July and August actually listed in the U.S. Monthly Vital Statistics for these months are 271 and 119 respectively, which add up to the same total of 390 as the corrected numbers.

If the figures for the State of Pennsylvania had followed their decade-long pattern of infant mortality rates 5 to 10 percent below that of the United States in the summer of 1979, as they did in the three months before the accident (minus 8 percent), there would have been some 268 fewer infant deaths than the 1,413 that actually occurred.

Moreover, when one adds the figures for New York State outside New York City where the August excess over the low

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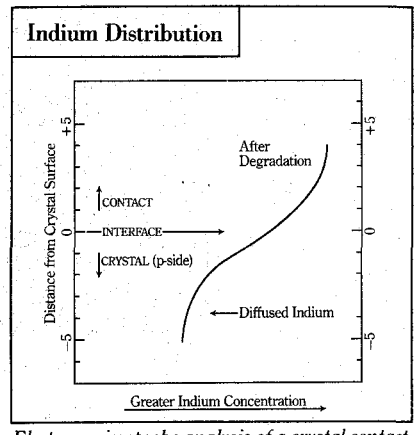
The Strategic Misalignment

Tunable semiconductor lasers can now measure specific gases in automotive exhaust with 25-millisecond response time. A successful strategy for improving laser reliability developed at the General Motors Research Laboratories makes this and other new spectroscopy capabilities practical realities.



Electron microprobe analysis of a crystal-contact interface, indicating indium penetration into the PbSnTe crystal.

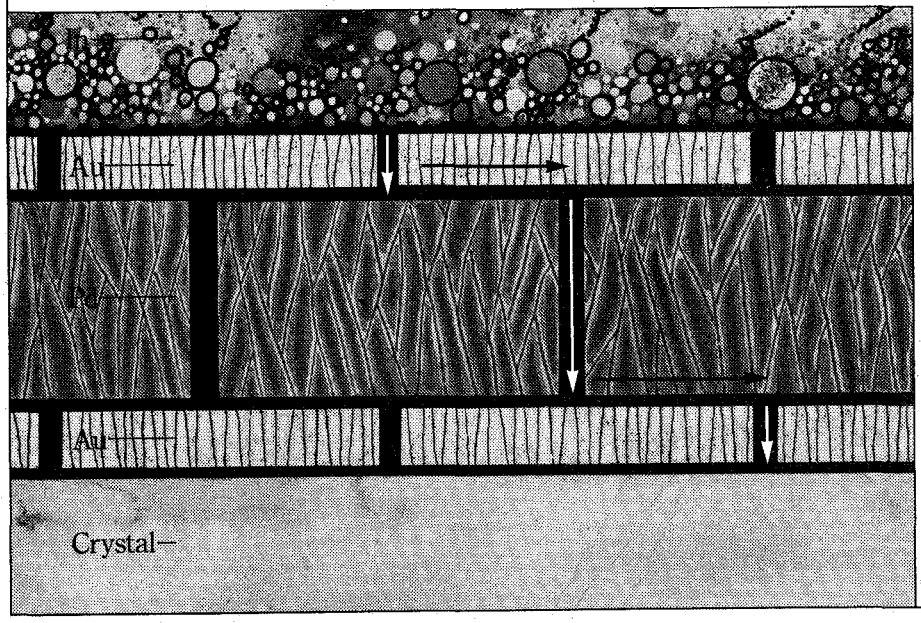


Diagram of hypothetical indium diffusion paths for a three-layer contact structure of Au-Pd-Au.

THE ACHIEVEMENT of long lifetime and frequency stability makes the lead-tin-telluride diode laser a practical infrared spectrometer. Earlier innovations brought to this laser the characteristics of increased power, higher temperature operation, greater efficiency and wider tuning range.

Operating in the 5- to 10-micron range, the PbSnTe laser spectrometer can resolve the time-dependent emission of carbon monoxide, sulfuric acid vapor, methane and other species of interest in automotive exhaust. This permits measurement of transients in carbon monoxide to carbon dioxide gas conversion in a catalytic converter. This capability represents a significant advance over conventional spectroscopy instrumentation. The laser is also being tested by NASA for use in detecting the molecular species involved in chemical reactions in the stratosphere.

New knowledge of the process by which laser reliability is compromised has been revealed in fundamental studies conducted by Dr. Wayne Lo and his colleagues at General Motors. Dr. Lo's investigations have demonstrated that laser lifetime and stability are limited by the development of excessive electrical contact resistance. He has been able to stop increases in resistance by devising a multilayer ohmic contact consisting of different metal films. This configuration has extended laser operating lifetime to more than 1,000 hours and increased shelf-life to an estimated 25 years.

Slow degradation due to a gradual increase in contact resistance was observed in idle lasers stored at room temperature, but not in lasers maintained at a maximum temperature of 77 K, despite several hundred hours of continuous operation. These results suggested the temperature-dependent process of diffusion.

Degradation occurred primarily on the p-type side of the laser, where the contact consisted of a thin layer of gold followed by a

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layer of indium. Electron microprobe analyses revealed that indium, a semiconductor donor, was diffusing through the gold layer into the crystal, apparently causing a reduction in hole carrier concentration near the p-surface. This effect was counteracted to a great degree by sandwiching a thin layer of platinum between the layers of indium and gold. Laser reliability reached a full year.

When degradation was still observed, although to a reduced extent, Dr. Lo advanced the hypothesis that diffusion and transport were taking place along grain boundaries in the polycrystalline contact layers. He proposed replacing the Pt-Au barrier with a three-layer structure. Since palladium film structures have fewer grain boundaries than those of platinum, providing fewer leakage paths for the indium, Pd was tested in place of Pt.

DIODE LASERS composed of $Pb_{0.86}Sn_{0.14}Te$ and fabricated with a variety of contacts were maintained at 60°C in order to accelerate aging, with periodic interruptions for testing. The results showed that a multilayer structure of In-Au-Pd-Au, in which the grain boundaries tend to be misaligned, provides maximal reduction of indium penetration, confirming Dr. Lo's hypothesis.

The misaligned boundaries force diffusion to take place laterally, which slows transport into the crystal. The additional layer slows the process even further.

Solving the contact problem represents the culmination of efforts that began at General Motors with the development of an "ingot-nucleation" vapor transport method for growing crystals. The resulting crystals are of high purity, with a dislocation density of less than 1000 cm^{-2} Lasers made from these crystals incorporate a low temperature cadmium-diffused p-n junction. This process, invented by Dr. Lo, increases the laser's output to five milliwatts.

A tuning range of 500 cm^{-1} and pulsed operating temperatures of up to 140 K are achieved by a two-step annealing process. This technique induces a graded carrier concentration that increases infrared light confinement in the laser structure, thus reducing losses and increasing output.

"These innovations," says Dr. Lo, "combine to produce a laser that allows us to make measurements previously impossible."

THE MAN BEHIND THE WORK

Dr. Wayne Lo is a Senior Research Scientist in the Physics Department at the General Motors Research Laboratories.

Dr. Lo was born in Hupei, China. He did his undergraduate work at Cheng-Kung University in Taiwan. He received an M.S. from the University of Rhode Island and a Ph. D. in electrical engineering from Columbia University in 1972. His doctoral thesis concerned the characterization of deep-level states and carrier lifetimes in gallium arsenide light-emitting diodes.

Before undertaking graduate studies, Dr. Lo was instrumental in setting up the first American transistor production plant in Taiwan. In 1973, he joined General Motors, where he is currently in charge of semiconductor laser and spectroscopy research.

GM General Motors
People building transportation to serve people

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point in March was a startling 69 percent—namely 20.1 versus 11.9 per 1,000 births—the total deaths above normal expectations for Pennsylvania and New York combined rose by 353 to the much larger figure of 621 for the accident at Three Mile Island. And no one had as yet suggested any errors in the published figures for New York State.

So great were the excess mortality rates for the rural and small-town areas of upstate New York that I decided to try to check them with yet another set of data, namely figures reported weekly by the larger cities directly to the Center for Disease Control in Atlanta and published in the Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Reports.

What I discovered there confirmed the findings based on both hospital records and the Monthly U.S. Vital Statistics. In city after city in the path of the invisible gas clouds drifting west and north, infant mortality in July 1979 had risen sharply over the same month in the year before the accident.

For Pittsburgh, it was a jump from 5 to 17 deaths, a rise of 240 percent. For Syracuse, the deaths rose from 10 to 18, or by 80 percent. And for Albany, the change was from 6 to 10, an increase of 67 percent.

But when I examined the figures for areas such as Philadelphia and New York City, not reached by the most intense clouds of radioactive gases, instead of rising, infant mortality declined, as it has been doing since the mid-1960s when fallout from the U.S. and U.S.S.R. atmospheric bomb tests began to decline. For Philadelphia, the number of infant deaths in July declined from 61 in 1975 to 50 in 1979. For New York City the decline was from 136 to 127.

Ironically, the need to believe that peaceful applications of the atom were possible played into the hands of those in the military who wanted to use nuclear weapons in limited wars, since both required the assumption that low-level radiation from distant, worldwide fallout or from nuclear plants was essentially harmless. Thus, the most concerned and idealistic scientists who had worked on the bomb and who later dedicated themselves to the realization of the peaceful benefits of the atom, because they were willing to believe in the harmlessness of very small amounts of radiation and the negligible magnitude of the doses from nuclear reactor operations, were in effect contributing to the increased likelihood of nuclear war.

I had begun to realize that the deeply felt hope for safe, clean and economical nuclear power kindled by the nuclear scientists tragically aided the plans of leaders of the nuclear nations to find ways to use nuclear weapons in all types of military confrontations. Only the continuing denial of the seriousness of worldwide fallout would give credibility to threats to use these weapons.

Only a few months before Three Mile Island, James Reston, writing in *The New York Times*, asked what "the present danger" facing our nation really was. He went on to quote Abraham Lincoln from an address given in Springfield, Illinois, on January 27, 1837. Lincoln's words now take on a particularly strong relevance:

> At what point shall we Americans expect the approach of danger? By what means shall we fortify against it? Shall we expect some trans-Atlantic military giant to step the ocean and crush us at a blow? Never! All the armies of Europe, Asia and Africa combined, with all the treasure of the earth (our own excepted) in their military chest with a Bonaparte for a commander, could not by force take a drink from the Ohio or make track on the Blue Ridge in a trial of a thousand years.

And then came this most strangely prophetic passage:

> At what point then is the approach of danger to be expected? I answer, if it ever reach us it must spring up amongst us; it cannot come from abroad. If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of free men we must live through all time or die by suicide.

As Reston concluded, "It could be, of course, that Mr. Lincoln is out of date in this nuclear world, but at least his point is worth debating. The 'present danger' may be the failure to debate what really is."

But when vital information is secretly kept from free people, they are no longer free, and there can be no more meaningful debate than of the most crucial problem facing our nation and the rest of the people of this world, namely whether we shall learn to live through all time by finding a way to end the nuclear cancer threatening our nation, or die by nuclear suicide.

If we have any moral or ethical obligations at all as human beings, they surely include the obligation to insure the survival of our species and thus the opportunity for our children and their descendants to develop to the fullest the miraculous potential of the human mind. As the French philosopher-scientist Jean Rostand has phrased it so eloquently on behalf of humanity as a whole, "The duty to survive gives us the right to know."

Postscript

Within the last few months, information has emerged that points to an unprecedented sharp rise in infant mortality in Russia similar to what occurred in Pennsylvania, upstate New York and New England following the release of radioactive gases from the Three Mile Island nuclear plant.

As discussed by Nick Eberstadt in the February 19, 1981, issue of *The New York Review of Books*, infant mortality in Russia, after declining for decades, suddenly rose by more than one-third in a five-year period between 1971 and 1976. The article is based on an exhaustive study carried out by Christopher Davis of the Center for Russian and East European Studies at the University of Birmingham, England, and Murray Feshbach of the Foreign Demographic Analysis Division in the U.S. Department of Commerce. They examined the reasons for the unexpected health crisis that suddenly gripped the U.S.S.R. during the last decade. Despite a continued expansion of medical facilities, increased housing and a slow but steady improvement in the amount of food, not only infant mortality but total mortality rates—especially among those in their 50s and 60s—began to rise significantly after decades of decline, a phenomenon never seen before in any developed nation.

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From its lowest level of 22.9 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1971, infant mortality rose to an estimated 31.1 per thousand in 1976. As Davis and Feshbach pointed out, this means that 38,704 more infants died in 1976 than would have died if the infant mortality rate had been the same as in 1971.

After examining possible changes in reporting and such demographic factors affecting infant mortality as changes in urban-rural differences, changes in the number of births in different regions, increases in the birthrate, shifts in the age of mothers and in the birth order, the authors conclude that none of these factors could explain the observed sudden rise.

Turning to the various social, economic and health factors that could be responsible, such as changes in the eating, smoking and drinking habits and employment patterns of pregnant women; maternal illness; frequency of abortions; utilization of medical services; housing; environmental pollution, and influenza epidemics, Davis and Feshbach concluded that only the last two could have had a significant impact. And among the new sources of pollution, they, as well as Eberstadt, cite airborne radioactivity such as that produced by nuclear weapons testing and releases from nuclear reactors, which in Russia were constructed without the massive concrete containment buildings such as the one that prevented most of the radioactivity at Three Mile Island from escaping into the environment.

Unexpected upward changes in infant mortality associated with prematurity and epidemics of influenza among the newborn children occurred in the United States, Western Europe and Asia after the large nuclear weapons test series of the late 1950s and early 1960s. These were followed some years later by an increase in cancer deaths and chronic diseases among the older population. And the more recent Chinese nuclear tests that began in 1964 also were followed by sudden upsurges in infant mortality as far away as the Eastern seaboard of the United States in 1976-77. The bombs were set off in the westernmost province of China close to the heart of Russia's Central Asian Republic of Kirgiziya, where infant mortality jumped by 50 percent in two steps after the U.S.S.R. H-tests of 1961 and the Chinese H-tests of 1967.

Only after the new reactors were put into operation (beginning with the 400-megawatt commercial nuclear power plant at Voronezh in 1969) near the more densely populated urban areas of European Russia, where 80 percent of the population lives, did infant mortality for the U.S.S.R. as a whole start its steady rise.

Since then a study by Gloria Duffy at the RAND Corporation has revealed that the installed capacity of nuclear power stations close to the cities of European Russia increased twenty-two times by 1979. The increase in the megawatts of electrical generating capacity year by year paralleled precisely the rise in infant mortality documented by Davis and Feshbach.

As an article in the February 1981 issue of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* by Frank Barnaby puts it, Russia is now "a nuclear engineer's paradise." Unconstrained by any public discussion of the risks and benefits of nuclear power, the construction of giant nuclear energy complexes close to the cities is proceeding at an ever accelerating pace.

Barnaby indicates that "there are good reasons to believe that there have been significant nuclear accidents in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe," some of which "have involved nuclear reactors." He goes on to say that "unfortunately, Soviet authorities refused to release the considerable amount of information they must have accumulated about nuclear accidents."

As Davis and Feshbach note in the conclusion of their paper, "a full-scale analysis of infant mortality experienced in the Soviet Union and of the causes of the recent rise is precluded by a lack of data and information." Official infant mortality rates have not been published since 1974, and life-expectancy figures have not been available since 1971-72. The suppression is significant, and suggests that the U.S.S.R. has reason to be concerned about what the figures show. □

L.A.'S BIG THIRST

The California Water Wars

HAL RUBIN

In the past decade, droughts and water shortages in many parts of the nation have raised questions about traditional American water policies. There has long been a view that if we build another dam or reservoir or irrigation canal and bring water from where it is to where it isn't, our water problem is solved. But in an age of scarcity, another view is taking hold. From California to the New York island, there is a growing awareness in this land that rural and urban conservation are needed to curb waste and misuse of water that are better suited to an age of abundance. That means using recycled water, improving irrigation practices and managing ground water more intelligently.

In short, there must be an alternative to more and more Pharaonic plumbing projects that create ever greater social and environmental problems. One such project is California's Peripheral Canal. The Peripheral Canal story provides a glimpse into a future in which water wars, like the one now going on in California, will be commonplace unless we come up with a better way.

Water has broken up more alliances and friendships in California than alcohol. A century-long conflict has caused rifts in the California Farm Bureau Federation, driven a wedge between environmentalists in the Sierra Club and the Planning and Conservation League, set agribusiness interests to feuding and put land developers in opposing camps.

Hal Rubin teaches journalism at California State University, Sacramento; he is also a freelance writer.

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In California, money negates the law of gravity, causing water to flow uphill over the 3,000-foot-high Tehachapis into Los Angeles and San Diego counties. The elemental fact in the Golden State is that the north has the water, but the southern half, which is the most arid region of the United States, has the people and the political clout. Three-quarters of the precipitation falls in the northern third of the state, but 80 percent of the demand exists in the southern two-thirds of the state. These figures help explain why Gov. Jerry Brown, an avowed apostle of "small is beautiful," and his legislature recently approved a massive engineering project—the Peripheral Canal—thus giving southern California another major victory in the state's continuing civil war over water.

For half a century, and with genuine anguish, the overlords of agribusiness, banking, industry and real estate have watched helplessly as millions of acre-feet of Sacramento River water poured annually down from the northern mountains, through the Delta estuary, and into the San Francisco Bay. Being men of action, they devised strategies that not only would halt the profligate dumping of good water into the Pacific Ocean but would also correct other of the Deity's geologic mistakes that cause water to flow where and when it cannot be used so as to further enrich the already rich. First, they siphoned off the waters of the Owens Valley in 1913, and of Mono Lake, about 250 miles northeast of Los Angeles, in 1940. Then, still thirsty, they eyed the northern rivers.

During the Depression the Federally-sponsored Central Valley Project (C.V.P.) was launched under the direction of the Bureau of Reclamation. Then in the 1950s came the State Water Project (S.W.P.) under the aegis of the California Department of Water Resources. The two projects have, between them, built an impressive statewide network of forty-two reservoirs, fourteen major canals and thirty-one pumping stations that store and transport water from the wet north to the arid southland. The California water system is an engineering achievement without parallel; what was once desert is now the world's most productive agricultural region, and 90 percent of the state's water is soaked up by agriculture, which produces an annual crop valued at at least $15 billion. C.V.P. and S.W.P. water also nourishes untold billions in industrial and real estate wealth, mainly in the southland.

The Peripheral Canal will cost about $650 million. Since the authorizing bill provides for important additional reservoir facilities in northern California, the total cost of the package is $3.4 billion in current dollars. If the costs are spread over the full construction period, and an allowance is made for a 6 percent annual inflation rate, the readjusted figure is $7 billion.

Originally, the Federal Government was to have borne half the costs, but funding did not come through. And so California will go it alone, paying for the project out of receipts from water revenues, revenue bonds and tidelands oil windfalls. According to Department of Water Resources planners, no new taxes will be necessary, and Governor Brown says the "big ditch" will alleviate the state's water problems through the year 2000.

The Peripheral Canal will be a 42-mile-long channel about 30 feet deep and 400 feet wide that draws off Sacramento River water before it reaches the Delta, a marshy inhabited area located directly east of San Francisco Bay. Skirting the eastern fringe of the estuary, the canal will carry water to the Delta-Mendota Canal and the California Aqueduct, which will then transport it to the San Joaquin Valley and southern California.

Actually, northern water has been going south for a long time through the man-made concrete riverbeds, but now it is mainly secondhand water from the San Joaquin River, heavily laced with agricultural wastes (pesticides, herbicides, insecticides, fertilizer residues and minerals leached from the soil), salts left behind by intrusions of sea water and traces of industrial and domestic wastes. The Peripheral Canal will export Sacramento River water that is still relatively fresh and clean. According to planners in the Department of Water Resources, the Delta is the last place at which "surplus" water can be captured and diverted for other uses before it flows into the ocean. The big ditch appears to be the most feasible method to increase the supply for the valley-floor farmers and the megalopolis to the south.

When it is operational, the Peripheral Canal will release about 1.6 million acre-feet annually into the Delta via twelve conduits, and the rest, about 7.7 million acre-feet, will go south. (An acre-foot is the amount of water that will cover one acre to a depth of one foot.) The basic premise of the canal supporters—that much of the water now draining through the Delta from the Sacramento River is "surplus" and can be diverted without adversely affecting the region—has been contested by opponents of the project. Although in 1977 the Sierra Club and the Planning and Conservation League endorsed the Peripheral Canal (the Sierra Club described the authorizing legislation as "the most positive water bill that has come along"), many conservationists believe that the California water plan is a blueprint for ecological disaster. They charge that if Los Angeles gets a new source of water, it will become even more crowded and smog-ridden. They also prophesy that the Bay Area will turn into a salt flat, and that irrigation will make the Central Valley a desert. The anti-canal forces quote approvingly environmental crusader Alvin Duskin's statement: "Northern California water will go to L.A. to make more L.A."

Several years ago the California Farm Bureau Federation was strongly behind the original version of the bill, but its enthusiasm waned as the amendments increased. Conflicts flared over the north coast rivers that are included in the Federal wild river system, which means they cannot be dammed to provide additional water for agriculture. After the passage of Proposition 8 in November 1980, which closes five California rivers to future development, the California Farm Bureau Federation and some of the Central Valley agribusiness groups who would benefit most from

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the canal's construction began working for its defeat. Rather than forfeit possible future access to the rivers of the north coast, they are willing to postpone canal construction.

Farmers living in the Delta, however, are apprehensive about any further meddling with the ecology of the lowlands. As long as the Sacramento River flows undiverted through its regular channel, they know they will get what water there is to get, wet years and dry. When the Peripheral Canal is built, they will be at the mercy of those who control the open-close valves. The canal is large enough to carry away all the water in the Sacramento River to Los Angeles County. Delta farmers also claim that if too much river water is diverted, salt water will invade their streams, sloughs and farms. In the Delta the fresh water from the river meets the salt water of the Bay. The meeting place moves back and forth, sometimes well out toward the Bay, sometimes advancing deep into the agricultural areas, depending upon the amount of fresh water flowing in. And so what some agribusiness interests regard as a wasteful outpouring into the Pacific is vital to the well-being of fish, fowl and humans in the Delta, the Suisun Marsh and the San Francisco Bay. How much fresh water is needed to protect water quality in the Delta is a subject of debate. Dams built since the 1920s have already cut the flow of fresh water into the Delta by half. Now the Peripheral Canal planners want to drain off another 7.7 million acre-feet.

Although farming interests tend to dominate the controversy, the Delta's nonagricultural residents will be affected as well. Many have developed deep ties to this 1,100-square-mile area, which is as flat as Holland and in the summer as hot as the Sahara. The mailman makes his rounds by boat, via meandering rivers and sloughs. Away from the main channels live otters, beavers and muskrats, who go about their business oblivious to passing sailboats. About 250,000 residents are scattered about this natural inland complex of sloughs, more than sixty islands—many of them ringed with levees because they are below sea level—and marshlands with 50,000 surface acres of water and more than 1,000 miles of shoreline. Fish and wildlife abound. The Delta's 700 miles of waterway make up one of the largest bodies of protected cruising waters in the nation. The region is also filled with irreplaceable landmarks: levees built by the Chinese during the Gold Rush; the town of Locke, which looks like the set of a Hollywood Western and is the only still-standing Chinese-built town in the nation. Ocean-going freighters sail amid the trees eighty miles inland to Sacramento and Stockton. Swing, bascule and vertical-lift bridges open for passing vessels, and the bridge-tender is a sculptor who carves beautiful wooden ducks.

Delta residents believe the Sacramento River will be robbed of one-third of its total flow at high-water periods and four-fifths at low-water periods, despite guarantees written into the canal bill. They ask, "Why should the quality of life on the Delta, and the farming activity, recreational benefits and wildlife of our area be sacrificed so that others may continue consuming water in areas that were originally arid?"

A San Francisco businessman who grew up in the Suisun Marsh maintains a retreat in a refurbished schoolhouse and barge on one of the sloughs. Like many natives of the region, he believes the California water system is already so full of dams, concrete channels, conduits, pumps and screens that it is more like a plumber's nightmare than a product of nature. He is joined in this belief by the Planning and Conservation League and Friends of the Earth, who advocate less plumbing and more emphasis on conservation and efficient use. They point out that half of the state's available water from precipitation—17 million acre-feet—is used to irrigate low-value forage crops on marginal lands.

But the masses continue to pour into the megalopolis to the south and one of the canal's most powerful backers is the Metropolitan Water District of southern California (M.W.D.), which serves more than 10.5 million people along the coastal sections of six counties: Los Angeles, San Diego, Orange, San Bernardino, Riverside and Ventura. The M.W.D. provides water for fourteen cities, twelve municipal water districts and the county water authority of San Diego.

Most of the water for the city of Los Angeles, about 400,000 acre-feet annually, comes from its own system in the Owens Valley. But in emergencies and to meet the needs of future growth, Los Angeles must turn to the M.W.D. for additional supplies. Water for the M.W.D.'s southern California customers comes mainly from the Colorado River and from the State Water Project. Sometime around 1985, the M.W.D. fears the state of Arizona will claim its full entitlement. Then its supply will be cut back from the 1,212,000 acre-feet it now receives from the Colorado River to 550,000. That 662,000-acre-foot loss is enough water to meet the needs of a city as large as Los Angeles. By 1990 about three-fourths of the district's supply will have to come

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from the State Water Project and about one-fourth from the Colorado River.

The political clout of the M.W.D. and other pro-canal groups was displayed in 1974 when the California Transportation Department and the Department of Water Resources decided they would start building the Peripheral Canal without legislative approval. Under the guise of providing a roadbed for the final twenty-two-mile link of Interstate 5, they began construction. Cal-Trans, as the transportation agency is known, said it needed about ten million cubic yards of dirt to raise Interstate 5, which runs near the Delta, as a flood-control measure. It then entered into an agreement with the Department of Water Resources to obtain the dirt from the proposed canal's right of way, which runs parallel to sections of I-5. Unconnected ditches were dug abutting the new highway, each from one half to one mile in length. These readily filled with water because ground water is so close to the surface in the Delta. Should construction of the canal be delayed or canceled, Water Resources officials explained, they would stock the "borrow ponds" with fish and open them to recreational use.

That kind of power play causes some northern Californians to recall the 1975-77 drought when southern California was never short of water. The swimming pools were full, the lawns were green and the Metropolitan Water District was selling its surplus water back to communities in the Bay Area. Residents of Marin County were putting bricks in their toilet tanks and watering their plants with dishwater to conserve a few gallons, while water from the north was being dumped into the ocean off Los Angeles.

Remembering the fate of the Owens Valley and the Mono Lake areas, northern Californians see a bleak future when the big ditch is completed and another drought comes, as it inevitably will. When the Sacramento River's flow is severely curtailed, they do not need to ask whose cup will be filled first. As a result, a coalition of canal opponents has collected enough signatures to put an initiative repealing the Peripheral Canal legislation on the 1982 ballot. If that fails, someone may launch a drive to create a separate state of North California, as a prelude to plugging the concrete rivers that move water 450 miles from where it is to where it isn't. □

LETTERS.

(Continued From Page 258)

REMEMBERING DOROTHY DAY

Pittsburgh

Although I enjoyed the pieces on my longtime friend Dorothy Day [Wilfrid Sheed, "Dorothy Day" and Colman McCarthy, "The Outsider," *The Nation*, Dec. 20, 1980], there is an important correction I must make in Sheed's article for the sake of Dorothy herself. I had nothing to do with bringing Dorothy to pacifism. The reverse is nearer the truth. When I met Dorothy in 1940 she was already a deeply convinced pacifist. While I had as a youth been influenced by the strong pacifist trend following World War I, it was Dorothy who completed the process for me. She accomplished this, in part, by putting in my hands two classics of Catholic pacifism, *The Church and War* and *Peace and the Clergy*, both written by Franziscus Stratmann, a German Dominican, and published in 1928 and 1936 by Sheed and Ward. Thus, Sheed's parents had more influence than I on Dorothy Day's early pacifism. My influence, as told in Dorothy's autobiography, *The Long Loneliness*, was at the center of her religious convictions. While I did write, at Dorothy's urging and with her publishing, on the relationship of peace and war to the Gospel message, this could have influenced her only later. *Rev. John J. Hugo*

New York City

I was pleased with the reporting of Colman McCarthy on the funeral of Dorothy Day. He offered sympathetic insights on that sad event which one could not find in any other account.

The funeral was listed by the *Catholic Worker* as a "private service." For this reason, one could not expect large numbers of the hierarchy, several of whom support Catholic Worker Houses of Hospitality in their own dioceses, to attend.

Vis-à-vis Cardinal Cooke: he made every attempt to attend by proposing an alternative time for the liturgy, because he is bound to a calendar made up long in advance, to which he must adhere. That he came to bless the coffin was, in itself, a mark of his concern. This was, indeed, a radical change from the actions of the Ordinaries who preceded him.

That Cardinal Cooke, wearing the simple robes of his office, seemed to be a "clown" to McCarthy is an indication that the writer is perhaps anti-hierarchical and is tailoring the incident to his own prejudice against that body of clerics.

Present, also, was the Bishop of the Episcopal Church of New York who was highly visible, wearing the white and red robes of his office in the procession after the liturgy. I note that McCarthy did not mention this in his account, nor find it offensive. Nor did I find this objectionable by either cleric, but highly supportive of the Catholic Worker movement in every respect and a moving tribute to Dorothy Day and her ideals. *James B. Welch*

A.C.L.U. CORRECTS

New York City

Tom Hayden's article ["The Future Politics of Liberalism," *The Nation*, Feb. 21] gives much food for thought, but I wish to correct a slip in his discussion of the recent Presidential campaign. The American Civil Liberties Union should not have been listed among the organizations that "finally fell before Reagan's conservative army."

The A.C.L.U. is not engaged in partisan politics although of course it often addresses issues that are political in nature. The A.C.L.U. has always been, is now and will continue to be scrupulously neutral in political campaigns. This is not a quibble. Civil liberties know no parties and, indeed, no political boundaries. Civil liberties are as liberal as conservative, as Republican as Democratic. *Norman Dorsen*
President, A.C.L.U.

KEEP THOSE LETTERS COMING, BUT KEEP THEM SHORT, PLEASE.

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Maddening, Not Madness

ANDREW KOPKIND

WORLD MILITARY AND SOCIAL EXPENDITURES 1980. *By Ruth Leger Sivard. World Priorities (Box 1003, Leesburg, Virginia 22075). 35 pp. $3.50.*

The history of the campaign to restrain the global arms race and divert military expenditures to peaceful purposes is a continuing chronicle of failure, delusion and defeat. Nowhere is the poverty of popular politics more apparent than in the movement to promote disarmament. Since the end of World War II, millions have marched, lobbied and harangued world leaders to reduce their arsenals and elevate their social concerns. Conferences have been convened, treaties negotiated and commissions formed; the paperwork of arms control must by now match the machinery of war, megaton for megaton. And yet every effort seems to be in vain. The Test Ban Treaty hardly hindered the development, production and proliferation of nuclear bombs. The U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency is a toothless tiger. The SALT agreements were designed to rationalize the arms race, not cancel it—and now even their dubious dreams seem to have ended. As the weapons stockpiles grow, the welfare payments shrink, and the doomsday clock ticks ever closer to a midnight alarm.

It is Ruth Sivard's grim mission to report in fine detail the enormous failure of the arms control campaign. The 1980 edition of her annual almanac of *World Military and Social Expenditures* bears more of the usual bad news. The store of nuclear weapons now numbers 50,000 and access to the stock is widening while the infernal engines themselves "increase in speed, reach, accuracy, and ability to destroy civilization." Throughout the world, military budgets are burgeoning as the standard of living declines; most nations spend more on war than on public health, more on military training than on civilian education, more on the technology of death than on the matériel of life. The planetary commerce in arms exceeds $20 billion (with the United States the master merchant) and the gap between conditions in the poor arms-buying countries and the rich arms-selling countries is widening.

Although the military urge is universally felt, its force has suddenly redoubled in the United States. After a short season of sluggishness, the American entrant in the arms race seems to be running out of control. Supported by an enthusiastic popular "mandate" for militarization (calibrated by The New York Times/CBS Poll at 88 percent of the electorate), policy planners are preparing for big Pentagon budgets and elaborate new weapons. The arms exports business is booming. Sivard's reports are going to get a lot grimmer in the years to come.

World Military and Social Expenditures provides a convenient tabulation of trends and comparisons in several categories (arms budgets, personnel, weapons sales, G.N.P., inflation rates, standards of living) as they appear in various countries and power blocs. There is a handy list of eighty-three worldwide wars and interventions between 1960 and 1980, from A (Argentina, which had border clashes with Chile and Uruguay in 1969) to Z (Zimbabwe, which—as Rhodesia—spent the 1970s in civil conflict, with South African and Zambian participation). Further on, a "Boomerang!" box shows how poorly the military investments of the major powers pay off: Egypt got $4 billion in Soviet aid and then switched to the American side; Argentina took hundreds of millions in U.S. arms aid, then shipped grain to Russia in contradiction of President Carter's boycott policy.

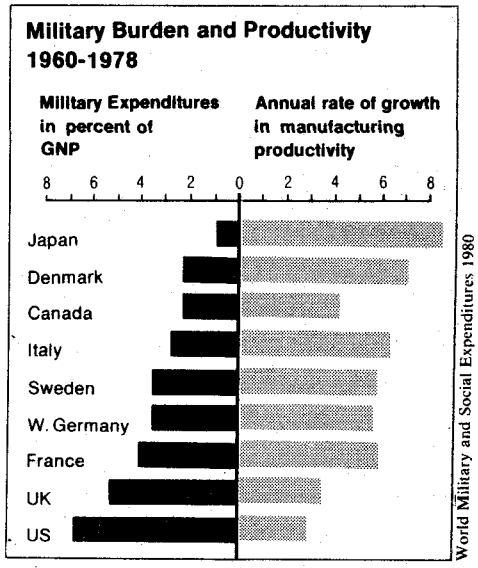
The raw figures and facts are readily available to researchers, but the comparisons Sivard presents have been hard to come by—and are uniquely valuable for any analysis of the effects of the arms race. Sivard worked for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (A.C.D.A.) long ago when it routinely published comparative military and socioeconomic statistics; she quit after Nixon's defense secretary, Melvin Laird, ended the practice. Although A.C.D.A. recently began issuing some comparative statistics again, no official compilations contain the lessons that can be drawn from Sivard's reports.

For example, one chart plots military spending against the rate of productivity in industrial countries (see below). The inverse correlation is striking: productivity declines in near-perfect proportion to increases in arms budgets. Inflation, too, appears to be bound up with rising military expenditures. The arms race is also shown to contribute to unemployment, to depress incomes and to retard development in the nonindustrialized world. All told, the tables consist of a sturdy brief for the case against militarism: in every instance the arms race is injurious to national and global economic health and social development, wounding superpowers and lesser states in both subtle and stark ways.

Experience reinforces the statistics. Americans have seen how the cost of fighting the Vietnam War—in economic terms alone—destroyed the dollar, instituted permanent inflation and toppled the United States from its leadership position in the world economic order. The way things stand now, military spending does not "cure" economic ills (as World War II is said to have cured the Great Depression) but worsens them. Neither does militarization resolve social tensions; on the contrary, it produces inequities and reduces living standards that heighten hostilities at home.

And still the race is run, the unproductive priorities are maintained, the movements for disarmament are defeated. The best briefs and cleverest cases are rebuffed, and governments

(Continued on Page 280)



Andrew Kopkind was a founder of Hard Times *and an editor of* Ramparts *and writes frequently for magazines.*

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A Syllabus for Pentagon Correspondents and Others

Editor's note: As Andrew Kopkind points out on the preceding page, Ruth Leger Sivard's World Military and Social Expenditures 1980 *uniquely sets forth the disastrous socioeconomic consequences of the international arms race. But scores more pamphlets and periodicals deal with peace and disarmament in a variety of important ways. Together with Sivard, these are almost studiously avoided by the major media when they report on the arms debate. Journalists and the rest of us ignore this material at our peril, literally. Following, in a list compiled by the Riverside Church Disarmament Program and* Nation *intern Robert Hahn, are some of the publications:*

PAMPHLETS

Abolition: 1775-1985. By Harry Hollinn. 1978. World Peace Papers. World Peacemakers. 2852 Ontario Road N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009. 25 cents single copy.

Arms and the Woman. By Naomi Marcus. 1976. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. 1213 Race Street. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107. 25 cents single copy.

The Arms Race: Is Paranoia Necessary for Security? By Dr. George Kistiakowsky. Revised in 1981. World Peace Papers. World Peacemakers. 2852 Ontario Road N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009. 25 cents single copy.

Atoms for Peace—Atoms for War? By National Action Research on Military-Industrial Complex. American Friends Service Committee. 1501 Cherry Street. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102. 15 cents single copy, $10 one hundred copies.

Building National Security. 1980. Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy. 120 Maryland Avenue N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002. 25 cents single copy.

By What Right? By W.H. Ferry. 1980. Promoting Enduring Peace. P.O. Box 5103. Woodmont, Connecticut 06460. Postage.

The Challenge of Disarmament. By William Sloane Coffin. 1978. Riverside Church Disarmament Program. 490 Riverside Drive. New York, New York 10027. 50 cents single copy.

Disarmament and International Security. By Randall Forsberg. 1980. Promoting Enduring Peace. P.O. Box 5103. Woodmont, Connecticut 06460. Postage.

Disarmament for a Small Planet: Messages from the United Nations. By Catherine Manno. 1976. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. 1213 Race Street. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107. 25 cents single copy, ten copies $2.

Doomsday Minus One. By Sidney Lens. 1977. War Resisters League. 339 Lafayette Street. New York, New York 10012. 75 cents single copy.

Guns vs. Butter: Setting Priorities in the 80's. 1981. Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy. 120 Maryland Avenue N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002. 25 cents single copy.

Hard and Soft Weapons. By Michael Klare. 1981. Riverside Church Disarmament Program. 490 Riverside Drive. New York, New York 10027. 50 cents single copy.

Hope in the American Crisis. By W.H. Ferry and W.J. Price. 1980. World Peace Papers. World Peacemakers. 2852 Ontario Road N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009. 25 cents single copy.

Idolatry and Prayer: The Arms Race in Theological Perspective. By George Hunsinger. 1978. Riverside Church Disarmament Program. 490 Riverside Drive. New York, New York 10027. 50 cents single copy.

Inflation and the Military Budget. By Seymour Melman. 1978. Riverside Church Disarmament Program. 490 Riverside Drive. New York, New York 10027. 50 cents single copy.

Inflation and Unemployment: Products of a War Economy. By Seymour Melman. 1979. SANE. 514 C Street N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002. Free.

In the U.S.S.R. After Afghanistan. By Mike Clark. 1980. Riverside Church Disarmament Program. 490 Riverside Drive. New York, New York 10027. 50 cents single copy.

Is the U.S.S.R. Nosing Ahead in the Arms Race? By David T. Johnson. 1980. Promoting Enduring Peace. P.O. Box 5103. Woodmont, Connecticut 06460. Postage.

Moving Towards True Security. By Richard J. Barnet and N. Gordon Cosby. 1979. World Peace Papers. World Peacemakers. 2852 Ontario Road N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009. 25 cents single copy.

MX Missile Contractors. By National Action Research on Military-Industrial Complex. 1980. American Friends Service Committee. 1501 Cherry Street. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102. 15 cents single copy, one hundred copies $8.

The Myth of Arms Restraint. By Max Holland. 1979. Center for International Policy. 120 Maryland Avenue N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002. $1.50 single copy.

New U.S. Missiles in Europe: Challenge to Arms Control and Disarmament. By Marta Daniels and Everett Mendelsohn. 1980. American Friends Service Committee. R.D. #1. Box 494. Voluntown, Connecticut 06384. 25 cents single copy.

No Room in the Lifeboats. By Richard J. Barnet. 1978. World Peace Papers. World Peacemakers. 2852 Ontario Road N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009. 25 cents single copy, one dozen copies $1.20.

Nuclear America Map. 1979. War Resisters League. 339 Lafayette Street. New York, New York 10012. $1 single copy.

Nuclear Arms and Nuclear Power—The Connections. By Barry Childers. 1980. Promoting Enduring Peace. P.O. Box 5103. Woodmont, Connecticut 06460. Postage.

Nuclear War Prevention Kit. By Arthur L. Kanegis. 1980. Center for Defense Information. 122 Maryland Avenue N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002. $1 single copy, ten or more 50 cents each.

Nuclear Weapons Storage and Deployment Sites. By National Action Research on Military-Industrial Complex. 1980. American Friends Service Committee. 1501 Cherry Street. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102. 15 cents single copy, one hundred copies $8.

Oil, Energy, and Arms. By Robert Engler and Barry Commoner. 1980. Riverside Church Disarmament Program. 490 Riverside Drive. New York, New York 10027. 50 cents single copy.

Our Choice Is Life: A Policy in Search of a President and a Strategy of Survival. By Richard J. Barnet. 1980. World Peace Papers. World Peacemakers. 2852 Ontario Road N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009. 25 cents single copy, one dozen $1.20.

Peace in the Bible. By Rabbi Steven M. Reuben. 1980. Riverside Church Disarmament Program. 490 Riverside Drive. New York, New York 10027. 50 cents single copy.

Peace Sabbath at Riverside Church. 1980. Riverside Church Disarmament Program. 490 Riverside Drive. New York, New York 10027. 50 cents single copy.

Peacemaking: Where Faith and Politics Come Together. By Richard J. Barnet. 1979. World Peace Papers. World Peacemakers. 2852 Ontario Road N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009. 25 cents single copy.

Pentagon Thrives on Urban Decay. By Seymour Melman, Mark Hipp, et al. 1979. Riverside Church Disarmament Program. 490 Riverside Drive. New York, New York 10027. 50 cents single copy.

Planned Economic Conversion: Getting Off the Hook of Defense Dependency. By William W. Winpisinger. 1979. Promoting Enduring Peace. P.O. Box 5103. Woodmont, Connecticut 06460. Postage.

Poverty and the Pentagon. By Carl Fleminster and Pat Wagner. 1980. Riverside Church Disarmament Program. 490 Riverside Drive. New York, New York 10027. 50 cents single copy.

The Proposed MX Weapon System—Testimony of David Gold, Christopher Paine, CEP, Before the Subcommittee on the DOD, Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, July 1, 1980. Council on Economic Priorities. 84 Fifth Avenue. New York, New York 10011. Free.

Prosperity Without Guns. By B.G. Lall. 1977. Operation Turning Point. Institute for World Order. 1140 Avenue of the Americas. New York, New York 10036. $1 single copy.

The Real Threat of Nuclear War. By Adm. Gene R. LaRocque. 1979. Promoting Enduring Peace. P.O. Box 5103. Woodmont, Connecticut 06460. Postage.

Reverse the Arms Race. By William Sloane Coffin, Richard J. Barnet, et al. 1978. Riverside Church Disarmament Program. 490 Riverside Drive. New York, New York 10027. 50 cents single copy.

Russia, SALT II, and the Arms Race. By Dr. Helen Caldicott. 1980. Promoting Enduring Peace. P.O. Box 5103. Woodmont, Connecticut 06460. Postage.

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SALT for Security. By Adm. Gene R. LaRocque. 1979. Riverside Church Disarmament Program. 490 Riverside Drive. New York, New York 10027. 50 cents single copy.

Shifting MX Expenditures to Energy Efficiency: Memo on the National Security Implications of Alternative Energy Development. By Robert DeGrasse Jr. 1980. Council on Economic Priorities. 84 Fifth Avenue. New York, New York 10011. Price on request.

Testimony of David Gold, Director of Military Research, CEP, and Christopher Paine, Research Associate, CEP, Before the Subcommittee on Public Lands of the U.S. House of Representatives, January 24, 1980. Council on Economic Priorities. 84 Fifth Avenue. New York, New York 10011. Free.

Tilt Towards War. By Alan Wolfe. 1980. Riverside Church Disarmament Program. 490 Riverside Drive. New York, New York 10027. 50 cents single copy.

A Time to Stop. By Richard J. Barnet. 1978. World Peace Papers. World Peacemakers. 2852 Ontario Road N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009. 25 cents single copy.

Toward World Security: A Program for Disarmament. By Earl C. Ravenal, et al. 1978. Institute for Policy Studies. 1901 Q Street N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009. $2 single copy.

The Truth About Arms Control. 1980. New Directions. 305 Massachusetts Avenue N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002. 20 cents single copy, ten copies $1.50.

A Vision of Peace: Redeeming the American Dream. By N. Gordon Cosby and Mark Gerzon. 1981. World Peace Papers. World Peacemakers. 2852 Ontario Road N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009. 25 cents single copy, one dozen $1.50.

Waking America Up to the Nuclear Nightmare. By Rob Okun. 1980. Promoting Enduring Peace. P.O. Box 5103. Woodmont, Connecticut 06460. Postage.

The Way We Want to End the Arms Race. By Richard J. Barnet. 1980. Promoting Enduring Peace. P.O. Box 5103. Woodmont, Connecticut 06460. Postage.

What You Need to Know About the New Generation of Nuclear Weapons. By Stephen Dagget. 1980. Institute for Policy Studies. 1901 Q Street N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009. $2 single copy, fifty copies 30 percent off.

Who's Afraid of Disarmament? By Catherine Manno. Revised 1979. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. 1213 Race Street. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107. 25 cents single copy, ten or more 15 cents each.

World Military and Social Expenditures 1980. By Ruth Leger Sivard. World Priorities. Box 1003. Leesburg, Virginia 22075. $3.50 single copy, special rates for colleges.

PERIODICALS

Alternatives: A Journal of World Policy. Quarterly by Institute for World Order. 77 U.N. Plaza. New York, New York 10017. Subscription $15 yearly, $4.50 single issue.

Arms Control Today. Monthly by Arms Control Association. 11 Dupont Circle N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036. Free to members, 50 cents sample issue to nonmembers.

Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. Ten times yearly by The Educational Foundation for Nuclear Science. 1020-24 East 58th Street. Chicago, Illinois 60637. Subscription $19.50 yearly, $2.50 plus postage single issue.

CIC Update. Quarterly by Council on Economic Priorities. 84 Fifth Avenue. New York, New York 10011. Subscription $10 yearly.

Coalition Closeup. Quarterly by Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy. 120 Maryland Avenue N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002. Subscription $10 yearly.

The Conversion Planner. Bimonthly by SANE. 514 C Street N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002. Subscription $5 yearly, sample issues free.

The Defense Monitor. Ten times yearly by The Center for Defense Information. 122 Maryland Avenue N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002. Subscription $15 yearly, $1 single issue, ten or more issues 50 cents each.

Fellowship. Eight times yearly by The Fellowship of Reconciliation. Box 271. Nyack, New York 10960. Subscription $8 yearly, 75 cents sample issue.

The Machinist. Monthly by The International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers A.F.L.-C.I.O./C.L.C. 1300 Connecticut Avenue N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036. Subscription $4 yearly.

Mobilizer. Bimonthly by Mobilization for Survival. 135 West 4th Street. New York, New York 10012. Free.

New Directions. Bimonthly by New Directions. 305 Massachusetts Avenue N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002. Free to members, sample issue free to nonmembers.

Peace and Freedom. Nine times yearly by The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. 1213 Race Street. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107. Subscription $4 yearly, 50 cents single issue.

Plowshare Press. Bimonthly by The Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project. 867 West Dana #203. Mountainview, California 94041. Subscription $8 yearly, 25 cents sample issue.

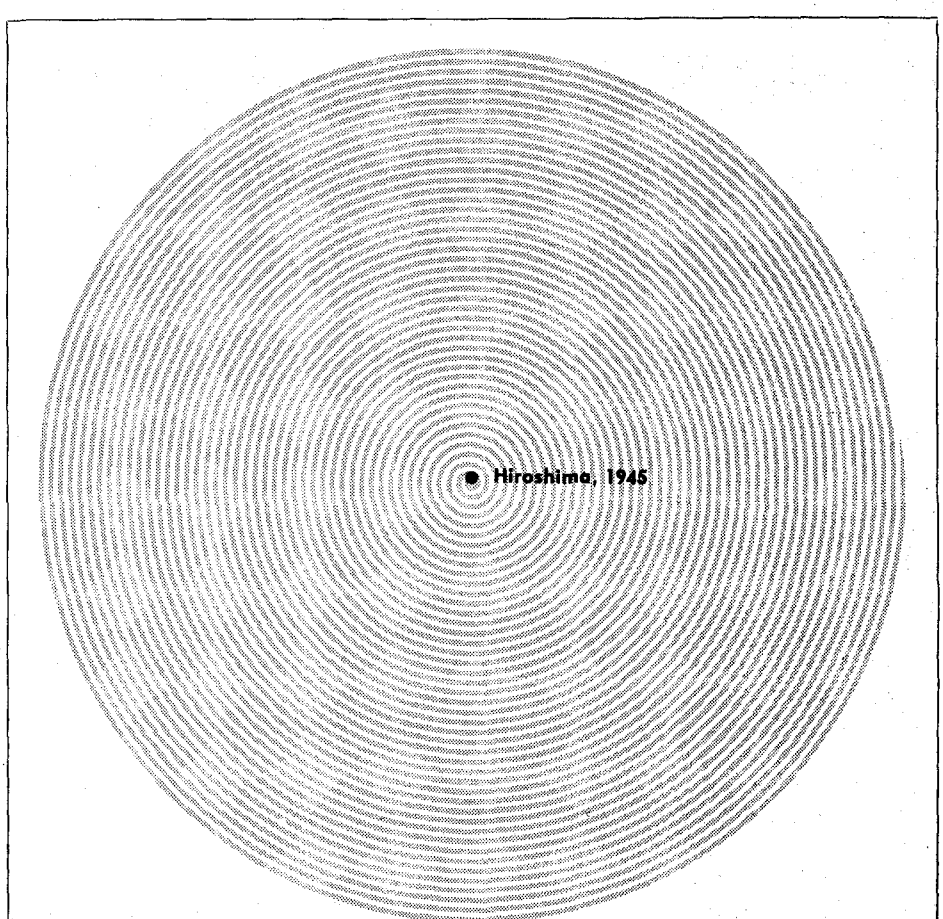
The Progressive. Monthly by The Progressive, Inc. 408 West Gorham Street. Madison, Wisconsin 53703. Subscription $17 yearly, $1.50 single issue.

Survival News. Bimonthly by Mobilization for Survival. 3601 Locust Walk. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104. Free.

WIN Magazine. Biweekly by The War Resisters League and WIN Magazine. 326 Livingston Street. Brooklyn, New York 11217. Subscription $20 yearly, $1 single issue.

World Without War Council-Midwest. Quarterly by World Without War Council-Midwest. 67 East Madison Street. Suite 1417. Chicago, Illinois 60603. Free.

WRL News. Bimonthly by The War Resisters League. 339 Lafayette Street. New York, New York 10012. Free.



THE NUCLEAR WORLD 1980: The atomic bomb that destroyed Hiroshima in 1945 had a force equivalent to 15 kilotons. Today, 50,000 nuclear weapons around the world have a destructive capability of 15 million kilotons.

World Military and Social Expenditures 1980

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(Continued From Page 277)
press ahead with policies likely to destroy themselves—and perhaps everyone else at the same time. Illogic triumphs here because, however valuable Sivard's documentation may be in analyzing militarism's effects, simple analysis does not (as she hopes) "lead to a better understanding of what must be done to bring the war machine under control."

The contradictory nature of the arms race presents a puzzle that most advocates of disarmament have been unable to solve. As a result, they consign the whole affair to the realm of irrationality and insanity. Militarists must be lunatics after the pattern of Dr. Strangelove—crazed, uncontrollable and beyond the reach of reason. New weapons systems are branded "folly" and those who use them are "madmen." Now insanity may be a plausible plea in a case of private criminality, but it is a defective defense in matters of public policy. We let our enemies off the hook of history when we define them as pathological rather than political. The diagnosis may be momentarily gratifying, but it is ultimately defeating, for it denies historical logic, mystifies the mechanisms of power and defers the development of effective strategies of opposition.

The persistence of the arms race is maddening, but it is not madness. It can be understood if the "issue" of arms control is seen to be an aspect of political conflict rather than a managerial problem. Militarism is not a mere malfunction of government but the very basis of governmental power. Those who wield that power deploy their weapons, mass their armies and invest their treasure in ways they believe will advance and protect their interests. If they think they must hold the Persian Gulf, stop socialism in Central America, enrich the defense industry, terrorize the opposing superpower, or create a climate of discipline and patriotism on the home front, they will do it—despite any statistics that indicate disadvantages, and in the face of all appeals to communal morality.

In Washington today, the power wielders believe that the business of America is expansion, that the political system they control must reassert its influence around the world after recent reverses, that markets and resources must be secured and protected against the competition (both friendly and inimical). Over the last two decades several policies have been proposed to serve those purposes: McNamara's developmentalism, Kissinger's détente, Carter's conciliation. None have proved entirely satisfactory, and so the policy makers have turned to the next idea—ostentatious armament.

Because the policy of militarism is inseparable from the political system which employs it, any movement to oppose the arms race must also engage the system it serves. Such movements fail when they ignore the political realities of militarism. For instance, appeals for arms reductions based on the injury that militarism does to living conditions in developing countries will surely be discounted by those who actually profit from underdevelopment. The American military machine is *supposed* to maintain the status quo in the Third World that is the intent of military policy, not an unfortunate accident or mistake Anti-militarists may deplore Carter' formation of the Rapid Deploymen Force, but they will get nowhere unles they attack the politics of oil dependency which the Force is supposed to serve

Seen in such political terms, the arm race makes sense, even if it is wicke and wasteful. Those who wish to "brin the war machine under control," i Sivard's phrase, must find ways to wres a measure of power from those wh push all the buttons now. For the ma chine is not really out of control; it i simply out of *our* control.

Writers and Lovers

MONROE ENGEL

D. H. LAWRENCE: A Personal Record. *By Jessie Chambers. Cambridge University Press. 223 pp. $8.95.*

Books that survive for more than a very few years are likely to lend themselves to more than one kind of reading. Jessie Chambers's record of her early friendship with D. H. Lawrence was first published in 1935, five years after Lawrence's death. Chambers was the model for Miriam Leivers in *Sons and Lovers*, which Lawrence himself called an autobiography and in which he figures as Paul Morel. Paul and Miriam keep company in adolescence and as young adults. Paul is attached to his mother, however, in a radiant but also crippling fashion; he ultimately finds Miriam deficient in the sexual force he requires in a woman if he is to be brought to health and to freedom, to full life. The intention of *A Personal Record* (first published discreetly under the pseudonym E.T.) is to reject this charge. Chambers absolves herself of blame for the failure of her relationship with Lawrence, indicting him instead. The fault or deficiency, she contends, was his and not hers.

The need she felt to argue this is still utterly understandable, but the issue itself—the apportionment of blame—doesn't retain much interest. Perhaps we are simply too ready to expect relationships not to work out anyway. Certainly, whatever our expectations in this regard, most readers of *Sons and Lovers* are now likely to find the strains of the incompleteness that separate Paul and Miriam more vivid, realized and interesting than are Paul's painful but inconsistent attempts to explain these strains either to Miriam or to himself. The loss of this kind of interest in Chambers's book, though, is more than made up for by the very substantial interest in what might originally have seemed no more than the incidental content of her memoir: its account of what it was like to grow up intellectual in a provincial Midlands society at the turn of the century, of how this experience differed for men and for women, and of the literary appetites and aspirations the society fostered.

The town called Bestwood in *Sons and Lovers* is Eastwood, Lawrence's birthplace—a mining town just on the Nottinghamshire side of the river, the Erewash, that divides Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. Chambers's memories of life in Eastwood are persistently circumstantial. Their value depends on an earnest fidelity not compromised by the interest that led her to record these circumstances. This trustworthiness is akin to the extraordinary registration of experience in *Sons and Lovers* that makes that novel all but immune to the various kinds of reductive interpretation it both attempts and solicits. The shared quality seems to belong to the earnest culture both these books memorialize.

The Chambers family lived on a small farm a few miles to the north of

Monroe Engel teaches English at Harvard University. His novel, Fish, *will be published by Atheneum later this year.*

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astwood. The father worked hard for modest living, but he would nonetheless stay up until 2:00 in the morning reparing a paper for his Christian ndeavor class. His daughter remembered hearing him, from her bedroom bove the kitchen, discussing and ehearsing what he was to say with his ıore skeptical wife who always wanted im "to see life steadily and see it hole." From about the same time in er childhood she also remembered him eturning to the farm on his milk wagon nd reading

> *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* to mother from the *Nottinghamshire Guardian*, in which it appeared as a serial story. I was aware of the thrill of anticipation on Saturday afternoons, but I could not understand why he should be reading the newspaper aloud for such a long time (for we youngsters were not allowed to speak while father was reading to mother), nor why mother was flushed and excited, and kept making little exclamations of surprise and dismay.

his particular memory lends specific ogic to Lawrence's decision to write a ook about Hardy. His *Study of homas Hardy* is a more extended piece f attention than he ever accorded any ther writer, and the way in which hambers's parents read *Tess* lends ogic to the sometimes exasperating and nflating ways in which Lawrence's conderation of Hardy can give him occaon for developing his own concerns.

The English writer of working-class rigins who gains distinction and niddle-class readers without benefit of ven the naturalizing influence of ducation in one of the two (or possibly nree) appropriate universities is a henomenon for which there is no exact quivalent in the United States. A rare ird, he commands both distrust and vonder. T.S. Eliot saw Lawrence as a nan who "started life wholly free from ny restriction of tradition or institu-on," with "no guidance except the In-er Light, the most untrustworthy and eceitful guide that ever offered itself to vandering humanity." Lawrence suffered, Eliot thought, from "a lack not o much of information as of the critical aculties which education should give." That notoriously undependable witness ord Madox Ford may be at an only apparent distance from Eliot when he eports of the young Lawrence (in vonder?) that he had "never known ny young man of his age who was so vell read in all the dullnesses that spread between Milton and George Eliot" and that, in fact, in Nottinghamshire all "the young people [talked] about Nietzsche and Wagner and Leopardi and Flaubert and Karl Marx and Darwin."

Both T.S. Eliot and Ford were not only utter outsiders to Lawrence's Midlands culture but not very securely located within the mainstream of English culture either. Jessie Chambers, however, was a resident witness to the activities and attitudes of Lawrence's world. She creates for us in convincing detail its avidity for self-improvement, its fierce autodidacticism, its incorrigibly naïve and direct views of literature, and its pursuit of education out of a strong sense of self-interest. Of Lawrence's early reading of philosophy, for example, she says: "What he read was to be applied here and now; he seemed to consider all his philosophical reading from the angle of his own personal need." Her conversations with him about religion were also characterized by "a serious attempt to find a practical value." Though Chambers very much resented the limitations of her formal educational opportunities, Lawrence seems always to have found school somewhat disappointing, and they both valued most what they taught themselves. It was important to Lawrence's early admiration for Blake, Chambers reports, that Blake, too, was an autodidact.

Most of the books Chambers and Lawrence read and talked about together came either from the library of the Mechanics Institute at Eastwood, which "was open only for two hours on Thursday evenings," or from "one of the most treasured possessions of the Lawrence household . . . a set of large volumes bound in green cloth containing long extracts from famous authors." These constraints doubtless triggered the avidity with which they read. The unmediated impulse to appropriation they brought to their reading can seem appalling. The first response to a novel or play was an active search for correspondences and affinities between the author's characters and themselves. In a similar vein, Lawrence admired the way George Borrow mixed autobiography and fiction in *Lavengro*. This mode of reading provided a direct transition to his own beginnings as a writer. He was thinking of trying a novel himself, he told Chambers, and thought "the usual plan [was] to take two couples and develop their relationships." His first novel, *The White Peacock*, was an application of this plan to somewhat translated autobiographical material. George Eliot was very much in his mind at this time, and he said that it was she "who started it all, putting all the action inside. Before, you know, with Fielding and the others, it had been outside. Now I wonder which is right?"

No one of my students would, I think, entertain such a simple view of literary history nor believe that if George Eliot was right, Fielding was wrong. But the astonishing burst of the years 1910-17 that produced (along with other work) *Sons and Lovers*, *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love* occurred not in spite of, but in significant part because of, a capacity for such energizing simplicities. A remarkably similar point of view, moreover, informs Chambers's criticism of *Sons and Lovers*. After reading the first draft, she told Lawrence that she thought "he should write the whole story again, and keep it true to life." Two considerations prompted this suggestion: that the truth was more interesting than the fiction he'd produced, and that by writing the story truthfully he "might free himself from his strange obsession with his mother." The second resembles a very Lawrencian conviction about the potential power of the novel. "I write," Lawrence once told a friend, "because I want folk—English folk—to alter and have more sense."

Treacherous and stimulating convictions, and the spiritual and—in the broadest sense—libidinal similarities between these two ill-fated youthful lovers, are commanding. Even in the final, much-revised *Sons and Lovers*, Chambers thought Lawrence "burked the real issue" in writing about their relationship, and the "shock" to her of this "gave the death-blow to our

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friendship." But it did more and worse as well. "Whenever I looked at [Lawrence], I seemed to see the naked flame of life," Chambers says, and then, twenty-five pages further along, she adds that in his "passing" she "saw also the extinction of [her] greater self." There is no inflation, no synthetic drama in Chambers's account. The lives of which she writes were experienced as urgent and significant. This slight book affords us unique glimpses of a culture and a view of literature that begin now to seem very distant. It has already become difficult to think of D. H. Lawrence as a modern writer. □

A Reluctant Big Shot

KURT VONNEGUT

A friend recently played a tape for me which he had made at the press conference when Bill Leonard, head of CBS News, announced that Dan Rather would succeed Walter Cronkite as anchorman and managing editor of CBS Evening News, a job Cronkite had held for nineteen years. The mood of the occasion was almost randomly solemn or businesslike or playful—as though no one could be certain as to how seriously the changeover should be taken. The principal concern, I sensed, was for the American people. There seemed a chance that Cronkite had accidentally become our electronic monarch, in which case this ordinary corporate event, the semi-retirement of an employee at the age of 65, had better sound a little like an abdication followed by a coronation—which it did.

Rather was the most solemn of all, and that is nothing against him. I don't see how he could have gotten out of being humble yet brave, and so on.

But that was a year ago. The actual crisis is upon us. On March 6, Cronkite vanishes from the Evening News, as promised. This is a test of how crazy television can make us, or fail to make us, and the news is good. I can find no one who feels that we are losing a leadership figure of any sort. The people have somehow managed to keep Cronkite nicely in scale—with a lot of help from Cronkite himself. A subliminal message in every one of his broadcasts was that he had no power and wanted none. So now we feel that a kindly and intelligent teacher is leaving our village. It turns out not to matter that the village happens to be as big as all outdoors.

I have seen Cronkite laugh like Father Christmas when he is told that he should run for President or Vice President or Senator. No one ever seems to mention a governorship or a seat in the House of Representatives. I have also noticed that nobody else laughs much at the joke, even when Cronkite explains it—when he says that he is only a newsman, without any of the gifts and enthusiasms good leaders have. He intimated in a recent interview that he hadn't even aspired to be a big shot in television, that he would have been nearly as contented as he is today if he had remained what he was in the beginning—a print journalist of no great fame. He loves his family. He loves his friends. He loves his sailboat. And he remains as entranced by the unfolding of each day's news as a child with a new kaleidoscope.

What makes it hard for others to laugh along with him is that this is the land of opportunity, and no one here is supposed to fail to snatch any opportunity that is unlucky enough to be caught in the open. Walter Cronkite could have been President of this country, just as George Washington in his own day could have become King. All he had to do was to lose his temper in public, and to pick a side:

"This is Walter Cronkite, born in Joplin, Missouri, and raised in Texas, and you all know me, and I am fed to the teeth with all the stupidity and greed I see in Washington. I can no longer sit by idly. . . ." And so on.

His last name is Dutch, by the way—like Roosevelt.

Morley Safer, Cronkite's CBS colleague for the past fifteen years, said the other day that he expected local rather than national television news people to transmute their popularity into hard-edged political power. I thought at once of a young man of my acquaintance who had been a star reporter a few years back on a local show here in New York City. At the age of 30, he concluded in all seriousness that he should run for mayor, and that nobody could stop him.

"Why should you be mayor?" I asked him.

"Because nobody can jive me," he replied.

The young man was a famous crusader. Cronkite is not. He may still become one, although I myself do not particularly recommend it, but he has so far done nothing to match, for example, Edward R. Murrow's vivisection of Senator Joseph McCarthy on the air. Cronkite's lack of rudeness to any political faction over so many years may have had a curious side effect, as unwelcome to him, I'm sure, as it should be to all of us: he may have encouraged us to imagine that there is a sort of sanity and wisdom on which all Americans can and should agree. Cronkite is not our electronic monarch—but he just might, accidentally, have become our electronic Uncle Sam.

No, Virginia, this is an acrimoniously pluralistic society. There is no Uncle Sam.

I asked Safer if there were any particular political issues in which Cronkite had felt personally involved year after year. He said that Cronkite, as a public speaker off the air, is regularly angry and disgusted and alarmed over anyone, no matter how powerful or popular,

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who would in any way limit the freedom of the press.

This, I submit, is not how Uncle Sam talks. It is the romantic stubbornness of an old newspaperman.

Safer said, too, that when he worked under him Cronkite declared with utmost sincerity that his assistants were doing all the work, and that the investigating they were doing out in the world was what he himself most loved to do.

This is the raffish gallantry of an old newspaperman.

Cronkite steps aside just as old newspapermen are becoming as legendary as cowboys. As young as this country is, we will have a rich mythology, by and by. Radio and television news began with old newspaper people. How else could they have begun?

The noun "press" is now archaic as applied to news editors and reporters. Equally antique is the cliché that describes Walter Cronkite so well:

"He has printer's ink in his veins."□

THEATER.

STEPHEN HARVEY

Weep Not for Me

Long before shotgun-blasted bodies start littering the doorways of the tenement living room in which the Negro Ensemble Company's *Weep Not for Me* takes place, you can't help figuring that the Hendricks clan will come to a woeful end—and not just because they're secreted in New York's most notorious slum neighborhood, either. This family may be intended to represent the hapless victims of a brutal urban milieu, but as author Gus Edwards has depicted them, they are so myopically obtuse as to all but invite every bit of mayhem the playwright can hurl in their direction.

From the start of the first act, sanctimonious daughter Crissie and her volatile, foulmouthed sister Deanie have been exchanging brass-lunged death threats, but the rest of the family have more immediate preoccupations. Mother Lillian is engrossed in an extramarital liaison with a youthful swain living nearby, and is too contemptuous of her impotent doormat of a spouse to bother concocting plausible excuses for her protracted nightly sorties. Although husband Jake has willingly raised her four children as if they had been his own, he's not as forbearing as he seems. Clinging to memories of his illustrious army career (the highlight of which was guard duty at Fort Knox), Jake decides to assert his manhood once and for all by unearthing his two service revolvers and giving his wife a richly deserved scare the next time she tiptoes home at 3:00 in the morning.

Fatigue robs Jake of his triumph and, while he slumbers, one of Lillian's offspring steals his pistols. Jake naturally suspects stepson Willie, as who wouldn't—he's an unemployed junkie and an inveterate hothead, who shacks up with the compliant Deanie because he's incapable of attracting any girl outside the immediate family. (According to Lillian, that boy was born evil, and even that series of shock treatments prescribed for him didn't do the slightest good.) Yet the audience knows that the actual culprit was Lillian's third daughter, Janet, who's really peculiar.

Despite the sweltering summer weather, she sports ankle socks, a knitted cap and a full-length woolen coat, and nobody even comments on the eccentricity of her attire. Should a family member speak to her, Janet is paralyzed with terror, finally blurting out a monosyllabic response after twenty seconds of blinking her haunted zombie eyes. (According to Willie's second-act revelation, "They say somebody raped her, and that fucked up her mind.") Still, as the least verbal person in the group, it's easy to ignore Janet, and before long Jake seems to have forgotten all about that second missing firearm of his in the bargain. We haven't, though. Sooner or later, the blissed-out Willie is going to stagger into the wrong sister's boudoir, and Janet will emerge battier than ever, her snowy nightgown saturated with what looks suspiciously like red ink.

If the tone of the partial synopsis above seems a mite flippant, it's only an accurate reflection of Edwards's own gallows-humor treatment of his protagonists' pathology. Under Douglas Turner Ward's emphatic direction, much of *Weep Not for Me* has the audience in stitches. In the role of Jake, Bill Cobbs's irate bluster and mystified double takes are in the best sitcom tradition of dimwitted, put-upon dads, transposed downward from the bourgeoisie.

In a more original vein, Edwards displays a rare gift for the comedy of human self-centeredness raised into the realm of pure chutzpah. There's a delicious digression from the juggernaut plot in the form of a cozy gossip-fest between Lillian and a neighbor lady. The heroine luxuriates in the new-found pleasures of middle-aged sensuality—morality and fidelity be damned. Her pal rejoins with the tale of her avaricious exploits as a registered nurse; she taught her malingering sow of a dying patient to stop whining about mistreatment by slapping her around a little, then proceeded to marry the lady's aged widower and inherit his dough, which was no less than she deserved, after all she'd had to put up with. There's more genuine insight and lively writing in these brief passages than in all the Hendricks's plunges into the apocalypse, and I hope Edwards's next play further explores the caustic side of his talent, stripped of all that spurious redeeming social value.

This time around, however, the author teeters queasily between farce, *Grand Guignol* with a sociological tinge and the clanging symbolism and turgid phrasemaking of that previous chronicler of the Bronx's lower-middle depths, Clifford Odets. It's regrettable that many of *Weep Not for Me*'s laughs are earned at its own expense, when the

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play is temporarily in dead earnest. Edwards's characters have a way of dropping terse clinkers of exposition to cue the spectator in on their respective past traumas, and these don't begin to explain the genesis of the lurid conflicts taking place before our eyes. Edwards underscores the psychological distress of these figures with some intrusive offstage sound effects to convey the inescapable force of the environment that is crushing them. Principal among these is the leitmotif of a demolition crew's incessant pneumatic drilling; in one of Willie's rare lucid moments, he confides his fear that the ever-encroaching workmen are likely to smash their very own walls at any minute. This is one metaphor that literally works overtime since, the din persists even while these people plot and fornicate in the middle of the night.

As usual, the Negro Ensemble Company has assembled a remarkably gifted troupe of actors, but vivid and resourceful as they are these performers are powerless to make sense out of the haphazard shifts of mood and tone imposed by the playwright. The one who comes closest is Seret Scott, deftly balancing arrogance and fragility as Crissie, the most resilient of the children. *Weep Not for Me* isn't nearly as reprehensible a piece of exploitation as the current movie *Fort Apache, the Bronx*, but it likewise reduces real-life tragedy to the pulp of facile melodrama, dehumanizing the victims into disposable pawns. Gus Edwards's ill-fated family unit isn't trapped by the menace of life in a slum without a future—it's snuffed out by the theatrical machinations of the author's own devising. □

FILMS.

ROBERT HATCH

The Last Metro
Fort Apache, the Bronx

François Truffaut, it seems to me, employs the lightest touch of any of the "star" European directors. His films have a clarity and ease achieved only with a technique so mastered that it has become subconscious; it accommodates without strain the astonishing range of his interests. Truffaut is serious about his art, indeed a perfectionist, but he strikes no postures. It pleases him to be excellent and he seems to convey the joy of it to his players and, through them, to his audience. Like George Balanchine, he is amused, not burdened, by the richness of his talent.

Truffaut says he made *The Last Metro* "to satisfy three long-time dreams: to take the camera backstage in a theater, to evoke the climate of the Occupation and to give Catherine Deneuve the role of a responsible woman." In *Day for Night* (1972) he took the camera onto a movie set and, like that earlier film, the current one achieves its pattern of light and shadow by juxtaposing the professional concerns of the characters with the drives and demands of their personal lives. That is a sturdy formula; it has sustained countless tinsel romances. But the scaffolding of drama is of no great importance; it is what you build on it that counts. For the men and woman of *The Last Metro*, those extra-professional considerations are imperative.

Paris is in the hands of the Germans; Lucas Steiner (Heinz Bennent), the German Jewish owner/director of the Théâtre Montmartre, has fled (actually to the cellar of the house). His wife, Marion (Deneuve), while shielding and caring for him, and maintaining what now would be called the lowest possible profile, is straining to mount a play that will be acceptable to the Nazis and draw an audience sufficient to maintain the theater. She will play the lead; opposite her is Bernard Granger (Gérard Depardieu), whom she has lured from the *Grand Guignol*. She has also engaged Jean-Loup Cottins (Jean Poiret), a man with useful, if dubious, entree to the authorities, to direct the production—but Steiner listens to rehearsals through a heating duct and conveys his instructions anonymously by way of Marion. It is, to say the least, a ticklish atmosphere in which to stage a play that may make or break a theater, and Truffaut, by crowding the action claustrophobically into the warren of stairs, corridors and dressing rooms of the Montmartre, squeezes the tension.

All those in and around the Montmartre must lead a double life: one that expresses themselves and the other which they show to the Germans. Some assume triple roles, and that is particularly the case with Marion and Bernard, who find that the play on which they are engaged (it is a real work, *The Woman Who Disappeared*, by Karen Bergen, a Norwegian playwright) increasingly mirrors, indeed re-enforces, a relationship that is growing between them. Bernard, who seems oafishly amorous (toward every woman but Marion) is also active in the Resistance. He is variously pulled by his theatrical ambitions, his feelings for Marion and his obligation to comrades whose lives are in greater danger than his own. Marion—who is forced to temporize with the Germans, treating with colleagues whom she does not entirely trust, defending her union with Steiner against the excitement her leading man arouses in her—exercises the responsibility to which Truffaut referred. She manages by maintaining an imperturbable womanliness; Deneuve has never been more beautiful or more impressive. And Depardieu works at her level. His performance is very quiet, almost unaccented; much of the time his thoughts seem to be elsewhere, as he lets his physical bulk speak for him. The relationship between these two is never quite acknowledged until it becomes overt, but when it does you realize that subconsciously, you have been aware of it for some time.

The Last Metro takes place in the 1940s, when Truffaut was a schoolboy, Deneuve was an infant and Depardieu had not yet been born. For them, the Occupation is more a dream than a memory, and the scenes (save for those played in the shadowless glare of the play within the film) are photographed in time-softened colors. Nevertheless Truffaut has put together a convincing vision of how the Parisians reacted toward their oppressors and toward the French jackals who ran with that pack. This he does from official records of those years and fragments recaptured from his childhood and that of his co-writer, Suzanne Schiffman, whose father hid out for the duration.

That vision was composed of both hatred and fear, but felt and expressed, he persuades us, primarily as disgust and contempt. Everyone in the film adjusts to the situation—the huge, seemingly bland Bernard least of all. They are all determined not merely to survive but to have their lives distorted as little as possible by the intruders. Steiner (played by Bennent with an ironic self-pity disciplined by his absentee involvement in the new play) laughs at the anti-Semitic obscenities of press and radio because that is his way of keeping

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himself clean of them. Marion, because she dare not interest the Gestapo, will employ no Jews on her stage, and shakes hands with Daxiat, the quisling critic of *Je Suis Partout*, who is de facto the censor of the Paris theater. (There was such a man, Alain Laubreaux, who used Daxiat as his pen name. Jean Marais once thrashed him, as Bernard thrashes him in the film.)

Collaboration was for years thereafter, and perhaps still is, a painful and confused issue with the French. That is so, if I understand Truffaut correctly, because everyone was a collaborator in some degree. To survive was to collaborate; even sharing the boulevards with the Nazis was a kind of collaboration—you could, in pure theory, push them into the gutter. But there was collaboration from necessity and collaboration for profit, acquiescence with dignity and craven acquiescence. No director, except perhaps Marcel Ophuls in *The Sorrow and the Pity*, has drawn this distinction with the understanding and sympathy of Truffaut in *The Last Metro*. Moreover, by setting his story in the ambiguous world of the theater, Truffaut italicizes the ambiguity of life in that time. There is an exhilaration, a sense of mischief, in playing a role, and all of Paris, one gathers, was playacting in the 1940s. The people of the Montmartre are not infrequently merry—they have a ready butt for their jokes.

For that reason among others, and though it deals with dark matters, *The Last Metro* effervesces; it gleams with a determination not only to live but to enjoy life. Throughout, it is engaging and when, at the end, Marion stands on the stage between her lover and her husband, holding each by the hand, and the three of them bow to the cheers from the house, life is seen to have won out. That is putting it too simply, of course, but you have to choose a side, and Truffaut, as is his habit, lines up with the living.

Fort Apache, the Bronx, directed by Daniel Petrie and starring Paul Newman, is a taut, bitter melodrama set in the South Bronx, an area of New York City that has become a national symbol for the degradation of urban life. Except that it is unusually well written, cast and directed, it is not a conspicuously inventive film: it exploits the now thoroughly tested theme of the cop with a conscience, the loner who must go up against both the crime on his beat and the venality, sometimes attaining to villainy, of his colleagues. The movie is high-powered entertainment.

But ever since it started shooting on location, *Fort Apache* has been appraised on grounds other than entertainment. The South Bronx, though desolate, has institutions and spokesmen, and they have been hot in their attack on the film. It is exaggerated, they say, and utterly negative, reducing whatever hope the community has for the outside help needed to begin its rehabilitation. More than that, it is racist. One might, offhand, suppose it impossible to exaggerate the civil disorder of the South Bronx. The film is said to be based in part on the experiences of two former policemen, and its violent, sometimes repellent, incidents may well come from the record. But, as is the way with action films drawn from life, it packs into two hours of screen time events that may have occurred weeks and months apart. Thus, the excitement is increased and the impression of chaos exaggerated.

I am reasonably certain that the film is not racist by intent; the presence of Paul Newman, whose stand on social issues is exemplary, would in itself make that accusation implausible. And I am not sure that it is racist in effect, which is what most of its critics have in mind when they protest. As Newman observed in a *New York Times* interview, the movie is about cops working in a very tough neighborhood inhabited almost entirely by blacks and Puerto Ricans. It follows that the people who come into the hands of the police will be members of minority groups. A preface to the film acknowledges that its focus prevented it from dealing with the efforts being made "to turn the Bronx around," and, at one point, the precinct captain becomes eloquent on the need to assure decent people of the community that the police are their friends and protectors.

Three murders occur in the film: one by a drug-crazed whore, one by a couple of spaced-out narcotics peddlers and one by a pair of cops. Only the cops are white, which produces a three-to-two racial ratio of killers that, on a per capita basis, weighs heavily against the police. Newman and his partner (Ken Wahl) are seen on several occasions dealing compassionately with Puerto Ricans in bad trouble, and Newman falls in love with a beautiful, thoughtful Puerto Rican nurse (Rachel Ticotin), their relationship being tender and honest. There is one ugly riot, but it is sparked by rigid police misunderstanding of the temper of the community.

But why choose the South Bronx as the setting for a thriller? Obviously because the area is much in the news, and its notoriety is good box office. If that was their journalistic calculation, the makers of the film, it seems to me, had an obligation to take an editorial position—if not to say how the Bronx might be turned around, at least to suggest (what the outpouring of indignation would indicate) that there is something in the place worth saving. But *Fort Apache* is not only violent: it is also profoundly hopeless. The captain talks of decent people, but for all we see, they may be figments of his imagination. His men are in no shape to befriend or protect anyone; they are in the position of trying to contain a volcano, at great peril to their own lives. The film ends in a freeze shot, a device I have come to take as a sign that the director has his film by the tail, with no idea of how to let go.

Fort Apache is too smart to be racist, but dumb enough to be insensitive. What it shows may be innocent of bigotry, but the motive is dubious. If their purpose was to put together a couple of hours of crowd-pleasing excitement (and I detect no other purpose), Petrie and company might have thought twice before making a Roman holiday out of a sickness known as the South Bronx. □

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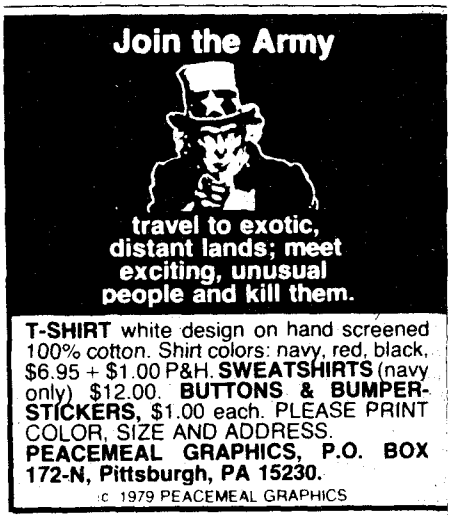

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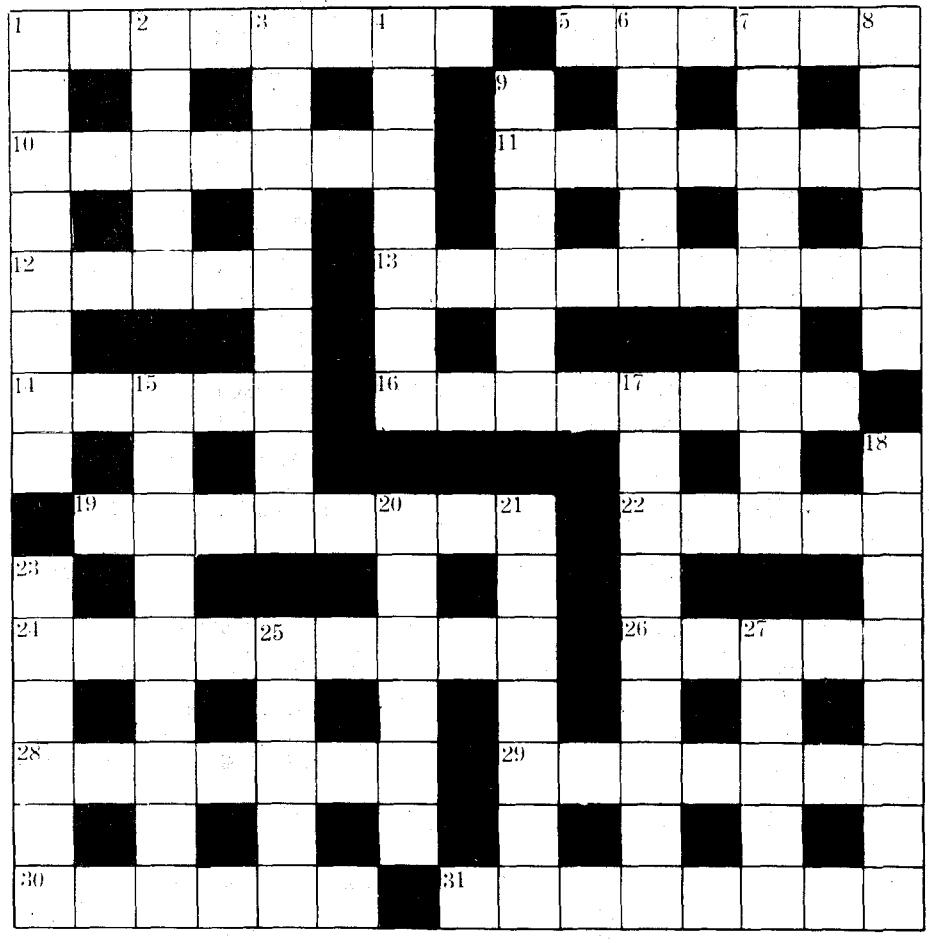
SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1857

CROSS: 1 At a gallop; 9, 20 and 27 A pretty ettle of fish; 10 Graphic; 13 Blue; 15 and 9 One after another; 16 Figaro; 18 Teapot; 3 Frog; 24 Mettle; 25, 11 and 12 The Mad Hat- er; 28 Ich Dien; 29 Browned; 30 Earth; 31 racketed. DOWN: 1 and 6 across Alarm clock; Abridge; 3 Act the fool; 4 Layettes; 5 Pegged; Chap; 7 Ophelia; 8 Kicked off; 14 Little Rock; 5 Out of line; 17 Vertebra; 21 Extinct; 22 Pen ib; 26 Ended.

Crossword Puzzle No. 1858

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 5 Stalls to do so—just wait! (4,4,6)
10 In part, such cars are far more desirable, if you've got lots of money. (7)
11 What to do with 'Enry, if he drops dead in the meantime? (7)
12 They have perfect molecular mobility, as one idly speaks. (5)
13 One doesn't accept stolen railroad property—or bitterly complain and parry arguments as a form of protection. (4,5)
14 Proclamation of a leftist—or is that just an excuse? (5)
16 The antithesis of 4? (They said we shall, over a decade ago.) (8)
19 Storing animals and vermin on deck. (8)
22 Take over something other than the main building! (5)
24 Might blossom, possibly because they came across early with it. (9)
26 In a jam at intervals, several such still made good instruments. (5)
28 Storehouse operated in reverse, in supposedly old and ancient surroundings. (7)
29 The one marked "Exit"—but not in such a theater! (7)
30 Writer who was rather strict, up to a point . . . (6)
31 . . . and a writer in like surroundings, or so one imputes. (8)

DOWN

1 Top equipment, not necessarily to be found in the ship's lavatory. (8)
2 Charles and Mary Ann—the little darlings! (5)
3 Measures what a watch might do—but it's not as flexible as a tape. (9)
4 Inferior to what one might do on the green—with experience. (7)
6 and 17 The first Lon Chaney made a career this way—but it's hardly to be expected in a person. (3,2,9)
7 How the hip type might want his coffee, possibly associated with the circus. (9)
8 It might be a good time for one who puts two and two together. (6)
9 Comedy so titled, being famous, as one might foresee. (6)
15 You'll probably find a defendant this, notwithstanding. (2,3,4)
17 See 6 down
18 The name attached to it is probably not the author of the book. (2,6)
20 The law is broken, broken say about—well, every time! (6)
21 We were told stones held them—though ministers might hold them longer. (7)
23 The game is broken up by what people see, perhaps. (6)
25 What a student should do in real earnest. (5)
27 The result of Manhattan production. (1-4)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

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A Fourth Interview With The 116-Year-Old Magazine

There's a lot of talk these days about the New Right. In your 116 years of existence as a liberal magazine you've seen a lot. What is your opinion of the New Right?

New? What's new about it? Only their haircuts and their polyester suits are new. These fellows have been saying the same thing since Jay Cooke, Jay Gould and J. P. Morgan.

You are referring to some famous businessmen of the nineteenth century, I believe.

That's right. Back when I was starting out we had what Mark Twain called "the Gilded Age." You had to admire those old Robber Barons, though. They stole the country fair and square. None of this public relations snake oil like today. "The public be damned," old William Henry Vanderbilt said. That's what *he* thought about public relations.

Do you mean big business is more public-spirited today?

No. Just more P.R.-minded. When Mobil steals the consumer's dollar, it takes out a long-winded ad saying it is fighting the energy shortage.

What else is different about big business today?

Well, back in the Gilded Age they believed in the survival of the fittest. If you went bust, you didn't run crying to the government for a bail-out. You just went out and stole another streetcar line or formed a new trust.

So Ronald Reagan's New Beginning doesn't impress you very much?

New beginning? I call it the same old soak-the-poor plan for bigger corporate profits. Back then they called it Social Darwinism; now they call it Kemp-Roth. In my day we had John D. Rockefeller. Now we have multinationals. Nothing much has changed. I guess that's why I'm still around. Somebody's got to tell people what to do when they get fed up. That's why we published Robert Sherrill on Big Oil and Mark Green on Cowboy Capitalism and Harry Caudill on the Synfuel Follies and David Noble and Nancy Pfund on Big Business Goes to College. If *you're* getting fed up, just fill out that coupon and subscribe to *The Nation*. I wasn't born yesterday.

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